

# Folk-Lore.

*TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.*





**RAMA VARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE,  
TRICHUR, COCHIN STATE.**





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VOL. XXVII.]

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[No. I.]

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## EVENING MEETINGS.

DECEMBER 15th, 1915.

DR. SELIGMAN IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the following new members was announced, viz.: Mary Lady Carbery, Miss A. Vowles, and Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson.

The resignations of Mr. H. Bayley, Miss Grace Porter, Mr. A. E. Balleine, Prof. G. G. Murray, Mr. Wells Bladen, Mr. T. W. E. Higgins, and Mrs. Dudley Harvey; the withdrawal of the subscriptions of the St. Helen's Public Library and the Royal Dublin Society, and the withdrawal of the resignation of Miss de Brisay were also announced.

The Rev. Dr. Bussell, Vice-Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford, read a paper entitled, "The Religious Basis of Social Union." In the discussion which followed Miss Burne, Dr. Alan Gardiner, Mrs. Seligman, and the Chairman took part; and some observations by Mr. Crooke upon the paper were read by the Secretary. Dr. Bussell having



replied, a hearty vote of thanks to him for his paper was passed unanimously upon the motion of Miss Burne.

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**JANUARY 19th, 1916.**

DR. GASTER (VICE-PRESIDENT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The death of Sir John Rhÿs was announced, and, on the motion of the Chairman, a vote of condolence with his family was passed unanimously.

Dr. Josef Baudiš, of Prague University, read a paper on Mabinogion (I.), and in the discussion which followed Mr. Flower, Mr. Ernest Rhÿs, and Miss Hull took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Baudiš for his paper.

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**THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING.**

**FEBRUARY 16th, 1916.**

THE PRESIDENT (DR. R. R. MARETT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Report of the Council, with the Cash Account and Balance Sheet for the year 1915, were presented to the Meeting, and, on the motion of Dr. Gaster, seconded by Miss Burne, it was resolved that the same be received and adopted, but as to the Cash Account and Balance Sheet, subject to audit.

The following were duly elected to hold office for the ensuing year:—

As *President*—R. R. Marett, M.A., D.Sc.

As *Vice-Presidents*—The Hon. J. Abercromby; Sir E. W.



Brabrook, C.B.; Miss Charlotte S. Burne; Edward Clodd, W. Crooke, B.A.; Sir J. G. Frazer, D.C.L., L.L.D.; M. Gaster, Ph.D.; Sir Laurence Gomme, F.S.A.; A. C. Haddon, D.Sc., F.R.S.; E. S. Hartland, F.S.A.; W. H. D. Rouse, Litt.D.; The Rev. Professor A. H. Sayce, LL.D., D.D.; Professor Sir E. B. Tylor, LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., and A. R. Wright, F.S.A.

As *Members of Council*—Mrs. M. M. Banks; M. Longworth Dames; Lady Gomme; P. J. Heather; W. L. Hildburgh, M.A., Ph.D.; T. C. Hodson; Miss Eleanor Hull; E. Lovett; A. F. Major; W. H. R. Rivers, M.D., F.R.S.; H. V. Routh; C. G. Seligman, M.D.; C. J. Tabor; E. Torday; His Honour J. S. Udal, F.S.A.; E. Westermarck, Ph.D.; H. B. Wheatley, F.S.A., D.C.L., and Sir B. C. A. Windle, F.R.S.

As *Hon. Treasurer*—Edward Clodd.

As *Hon. Auditor*—C. J. Tabor.

As *Editor of "Folk-Lore"*—W. Crooke, B.A.

The Chairman delivered his Presidential Address, entitled "Primitive Values," for which a vote of thanks, moved by Dr. Gaster and seconded by Miss Burne, was carried by acclamation.



## THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

ALTHOUGH the Society has inevitably suffered from the continuance of the war, it is in the happy position of having added 12 new members to its roll. It is feared that few of those whose resignations in the year 1914 were due to the war, and whose names were retained upon the roll of members, will resume their subscriptions during the current year. Their names will therefore automatically disappear from the roll. The Council have allowed those who have resigned during 1915 for the same cause the option of having their names retained upon the roll and of receiving the quarterly parts of *Folk-Lore* until the end of the current year. The Council believe that they are adopting a sound policy in making this concession.

The total number of members and subscribers now stands at 419, as against 435 a year ago; but unfortunately a large number of subscriptions are in arrear.

The amount received in subscriptions during the year 1915 amounted to £390 12s. 2d., as compared with £414 10s. in 1914. The Society is to be congratulated on the relative strength of its financial position.

The Council deeply regret to have to record the death of Sir John Rhÿs, who for many years had been a Vice-President of the Society, and whose eminence as a Celtic scholar and whose valuable contributions to the study of folklore are so widely known.



Meetings of the Society have been held as follows, viz. :

- 20th January. "Psychology and Ethnology." Mr. A. M. Hocart.  
17th February. (Annual Meeting.) Presidential Address: "War and Savagery." Dr. R. R. Marett.  
17th March. "The Folklore of the Flemish Child." Professor Varendonck.  
21st April. "Obeah in the West Indies." His Honour J. S. Udal.  
19th May. "An Irish Festival." Mr. A. Martin Freeman.  
16th June. "Chinyanja Folklore." Mrs. Holland.  
17th November. "Prehistoric Monuments of the Channel Islands and their Folklore." Dr. R. R. Marett.  
15th December. "The Religious Basis of the Social Union." The Rev. Dr. Bussell.

Prof. Varendonck's lecture and the illustrations of Flemish folk-songs given by his twelve-year-old daughter were much appreciated. Mr. Martin Freeman's paper was also interspersed with some delightful musical illustrations.

It was hoped that at the November meeting Mr. Lovett would have been able to give his promised lecture on the Children's Toy Museum at Stepney, in the formation of which he has taken so keen an interest, but he was unfortunately prevented by illness. The President very kindly stepped into the breach at the eleventh hour, and gave a most interesting lecture on the antiquities and folklore of the Channel Islands, fully illustrated by lantern slides.

The only objects exhibited during the session were some Spanish amulets and charms which Dr. Hildburgh brought with him to the November meeting. Photographs and descriptions of some of these objects appear in the December number of *Folk-Lore*.

The Council consider that they were justified in proceeding with the meetings as usual, notwithstanding the small attendance at some of them. Owing to the stringency of the new lighting regulations, they have thought it advisable during the early part, at any rate, of the current session to hold the meetings at 5 p.m. instead of at 8 p.m.

Several additions have been made to the Society's Library during the year, particulars of which have been duly noted in *Folk-Lore*.



Dr. Gaster and Mr. Longworth Dames were again deputed to attend the meeting of the Congress of Archaeological Societies as representatives of the Society; and Sir E. W. Brabrook, Sir Laurence and Lady Gomme, Dr. Seligman (President of Section H), Mr. Hartland, Dr. Rivers, Miss Burne, and others represented the Society at the meeting of the British Association in Manchester during September. The President has been deputed to serve on the Committee for the provision of a fresh library for the University of Louvain.

The twenty-sixth volume of *Folk-Lore* has been issued during the year. Although it is slightly smaller in bulk and contains fewer illustrations than some of its predecessors, the Council believe it will be found to maintain its usual high level of excellence. A debt of gratitude is due to Mr. Crooke for the pains he has bestowed on the volume, and the Council are glad to think that they will have the benefit of his invaluable services during the coming year.

The additional volume for 1914, *Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories*, by Dr. Gaster, has also been issued during the year, and the Council are glad to take this opportunity of offering him their congratulations on his important contribution to the Society's publications.

The Council have not decided whether they will issue an additional volume for the years 1915 and 1916, or either of them. The uncertainty occasioned by the continuance of the war renders it desirable to exercise strict economy, and the matter is one which will require very mature consideration.

The work of the Brand Committee is making steady progress, but owing to the scarcity of voluntary readers whose energies are now necessarily directed into other channels the assistance of paid labour will be necessary to complete the collection. The Council have accordingly made the Committee a grant of £20 to enable them to



advance a further stage with their work, and they realize that additional grants will be necessary from time to time before the collection is finally completed. The work is perhaps as valuable as any that has yet been undertaken and ought to have a very prominent place in the activities of the Society. The Council have to thank Miss Burne for the admirable work she has done as Secretary of the Committee. Their thanks are also due to the other members of the Committee, and to the band of volunteers who have assisted them in the collection of materials for the work.

The relations of the Council with Messrs. Sidgwick & Jackson, the Society's publishers, continue to be most harmonious.

In order to avoid unnecessary correspondence the Council have arranged that a printed post-card addressed to the publishers shall be issued with the December number of *Folk-Lore* each year, giving particulars of the publications issued during the year, and intimating that no claim for any part or volume alleged by a member to be missing will be entertained unless received by the publishers before the 31st March. In past years members have occasionally claimed to receive publications issued three or four years previously. The Council are of opinion, therefore, that there is ample justification for the step which they have taken.

The Council desire once again to call attention to the fact that a considerable part of the salvage stock remains on hand. The volumes have been rebound and are in a very fair condition. The price is 4s. per volume, carriage paid, with all faults, and Mr. C. J. Tabor, The White House, Knotts Green, Leyton, will be very glad to hear of purchasers.

The Cash Account and Balance Sheet for the year are submitted herewith.

R. R. MARETT,  
*President.*



CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER, 1915.

RECEIPTS.				EXPENDITURE.			
By Balance brought down,	-	-	-	To <i>Folk-Lore</i> :—			
" Subscriptions for 1915 (331),	-	-	-	Printing 2 parts, 1914, and Index,	-	£98 7 7	
" " " 1914 and earlier years (29),	-	-	-	" " " 1 part, 1915,	-	34 16 9	
" " " 1916, in advance (12),	-	-	-	Illustrations,	-	0 18 0	
							£134 2 4
" Interest on Investments,	-	-	-	" <i>Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories</i> (Dr. Gaster),	-	-	127 16 6
" Money on deposit,	-	-	-	" Expenses of Distribution of Publications,	-	-	32 5 8
				" Publisher's Commissions,	-	-	33 11 7
" Sales of Stock,	-	-	-	" Expenses of Meetings :—			
" Advertisements,	-	-	-	Hire of Rooms,	-	£5 8 0	
" Income Tax returned,	-	-	-	Tuning Piano,	-	0 7 0	
				Refreshments,	-	8 9 6	
				Advertising,	-	2 13 4	
				Lecturer's Travelling Expenses etc.,	-	3 3 6	
							20 1 14
				" Binding of Stock,	-	-	26 0 3
				" Subscription to Congress of Archaeological Societies,	-	-	1 0 0
				" Expenses of Management :—			
				Insurance,	-	£13 8 0	
				Postages, Stationery, and Printing,	-	20 5 10	
				Brand Committee,	-	2 10 0	
				Rent of Telephone,	-	2 12 6	
				Warehousing Stock,	-	10 10 0	
				Secretary's Salary and Poundage,	-	55 17 0	
				Miscellaneous,	-	0 17 4	
							106 0 8
				" Balance in Bank on current account,	-	£84 14 0	
				" " " on deposit account,	-	200 0 0	
				" Petty Cash in hands of Secretary,	-	1 9 11	
							286 3 11
							£767 2 3



# BALANCE SHEET, 31ST DECEMBER, 1915.

LIABILITIES.			ASSETS.		
To Sundry Creditors,	-	-	By Cash at Bankers,	-	£284 14 0
„ Subscriptions paid in advance,	-	-	„ „ in hands of Secretary,	-	1 9 11
„ Composition Fees,	-	-	„ Sundry Debtors,	-	£286 3 11
Less deductions,	-	-	„ Subscriptions in arrear, † 1915 (49),	-	21 11 8
„ Balance to credit of Society,*	-	-	„ „ 1914 (20),	-	£51 9 0
			„ „ earlier years (13),	-	21 0 0
			„ Investments at cost price:—	-	13 13 0
			£500 Canada, 3½% Stock,	-	£498 15 0
			£500 Natal, 3½% Stock,	-	496 17 6
					995 12 6
					£1,389 10 1

In addition to the above there is a large stock of Publications of the Society, and also of bound volumes of the salvage stock, of which no account is taken here.

\* *N.B.*—No allowance has been made for an additional volume for the year 1915.

† Of these 30 have been long outstanding and are very doubtful.

Examined with Vouchers and Pass Book and found correct.

EDWARD CLODD, *Hon. Treasurer,*

CHARLES J. TABOR, *Hon. Auditor.*

March 1st, 1916.



REPORT OF THE BRAND COMMITTEE TO  
THE COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY,  
JANUARY, 1916.

*Adopted and ordered to be printed, 1st Feb., 1916.*

THE collection of Notes for the Revised Edition of Brand's *Popular Antiquities* has been steadily pursued during the year, though by a greatly diminished number of workers. It has now so far advanced as to make a survey of the material gathered possible and desirable. Such a survey is greatly assisted by Miss Burne's Classified Catalogue, now appearing in instalments in *Folk-Lore*.

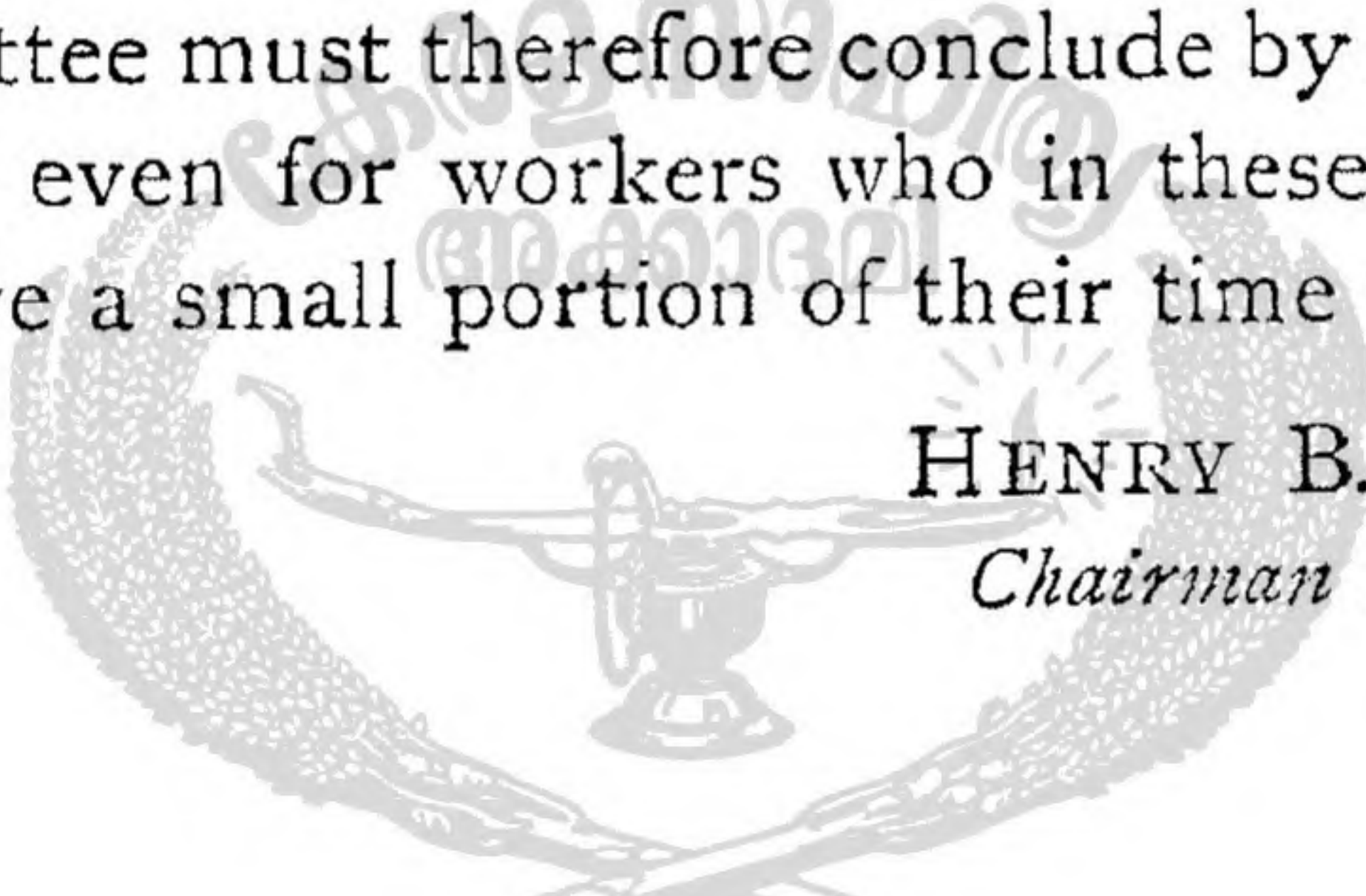
It becomes apparent that the new matter in the hands of the Committee mainly represents the living tradition of the nineteenth century, still partially in existence; while Brand's work consists almost entirely of historical records and literary allusions to such traditional customs. In collating the two, it will be necessary to discard the somewhat miscellaneous arrangement of Sir Henry Ellis's edition, and to adopt one which may better conform to modern standards.

Such an arrangement must be on the one hand *chronological*. It must show the growth or decay of custom from age to age, from chronicler to chronicler: from Fitzstephen to Stow, to John Aubrey, to Henry Bourne, William Hone, and W. J. Thoms successively. On the other hand it must be *topographical*. It must carefully avoid confusion between the varying customs of different localities and must bring out the varieties of local colour developed by similar customs in different regions.

Although the work of classification has thus been begun,



it must not be thought that the work of collection is completed. Wales and Scotland have been treated with tolerable thoroughness, but numerous Irish works still remain to be examined, besides the Dialect Glossaries, Local Notes and Queries, County Histories, and Archaeological Journals, of a dozen or more English counties. The cost of this to the Society will be considerable, unless voluntary workers can be found to undertake at least some part of it. Other steps which must shortly be taken are the verification of Brand's references, the examination of the interleaved copies of *Popular Antiquities* in the British Museum, and the study of the ancient agricultural systems of the British Isles with special reference to the influence upon agriculture ascribed to the solar and lunar phenomena. The Committee must therefore conclude by appealing again for workers, even for workers who in these strenuous days can only give a small portion of their time to the task.



HENRY B. WHEATLEY,  
*Chairman of Committee.*



## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

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### PRIMITIVE VALUES.

I WONDER if Sir James Frazer can furnish us with an example of a primitive king who, when the proper time had come for him to die for the good of his people, found himself unexpectedly reprieved and bidden to reign for a fresh term. Something of the sort has happened in the present case. The ceremonial slaying of the President is an annual, or at most biennial, custom which this Society for its own good must duly perform in normal times. But the times are not normal. Hence it has been ordained that the outworn vessel in which the *mana* of the Society is stored should continue to fulfil its functions as best it may —fit symbol, I suppose, of a diminished, though, let us hope, merely suspended, vitality on the part of that science which the Society exists to further. As for personal inclination or disinclination to remain in office, I ought perhaps to say nothing about it, since such a consideration is, strictly, not in point at all. A vessel as such has no feelings. Thus the primitive king was expected to keep his private sentiments to himself. Neither need he take up his duties with a *nolo episcopari* on his lips, nor need he lay them down with a *volo immolari*. Nevertheless, despite the lack of anthropological precedent, let me thank you heartily for the great honour you have done me in thus affixing a fresh clasp to my presidential medal. Your



kindness might well induce me to give way to spiritual pride; but I try to keep myself humble by reflecting that the proverb about not swapping horses when in the middle of the stream might be applied with almost equal force to a humbler beast of burden.

As for what I have to say to-night, I must apologize for once more introducing the well-worn topic of the war. The fact is that I cannot get my thoughts away from the subject, much as I could wish to do so. Even, then, at the risk of repeating myself, I must out with that which I find it in my heart to say; and, for your part, you must bear with me if I am more than usually tedious. After all, man is on his trial to-day; and we, as students of man, cannot remain indifferent to the great moral issue that is at stake, namely, whether man is at heart a brute or not.

Before embarking on my theme, however, let me refer very briefly and inadequately to the great loss that has befallen this Society in the death of Sir John Rhys, for many years our Vice-President. He was a personal friend of mine. Indeed, our respective colleges face each other across a narrow street; and he was always ready to let me drop in upon him for a chat. I used to regard him not merely as a mine of information concerning the manifold questions with which our science deals—though of course he was that—but rather as an incarnation of the very spirit of folklore. He himself came of the folk, having been born and bred in a countryside that almost literally bordered on fairyland. Moreover, a thorough knowledge of his native idiom gave him a sure clue to the psychology of his own people, so that even the twilight depths of the racial consciousness were revealed to him. Thus, as a man of science, he could work from the heart of his subject outwards. The soul of the matter could not escape him, or he would have had to escape from his own soul. About details, however, he might change his mind constantly, and, in fact, did so; for his sense of proportion, being determined by an abiding



intuition of the Celtic mentality in its wholeness, could afford to rate trivialities, whether of archaeology or of scholarship, at their real worth. Some of his critics might complain that he was erratic in his opinions. Those who knew him intimately, however, would say rather that, in all its flights, his mind remained true to an unfailing sense of direction; such a faculty having been implanted in him by heredity, nurtured by an early training amid homely surroundings, and brought to full development by years of patient and intelligent study. Wales never bore a son who loved her more or understood her better.

The moral problem that confronts Europe to-day is: What sort of righteousness are we, individually and collectively, to pursue? Is the new righteousness to be realized in a return to the old brutality? Shall the last values be as the first? Must ethical process conform to natural process as exemplified by the life of any animal that secures dominancy at the expense of the weaker members of its kind?

Now this is not a question to which we as anthropologists can give a final answer. In such a capacity we are merely concerned with the history of man. But, though human values have a history, they are not fully explained and justified by their history. Ultimately, values are constituted by the will. A man's free choice determines that one course of action shall rank as better than another. At most, history can try to show that, on the average and in the long run, a certain type of conduct as compared with some alternative type leads to extinction on the part of those who choose to put it into practice. But if the free agent, thus threatened with extinction, boldly replies, 'For the sake of what I hold to be right and just, I am ready to persevere even unto the death,' there is an end to the argument. History has nothing more to say, unless possibly it be by way of an epitaph.



Can ethics, then, in virtue of this indisputable claim to pronounce the last word about right and wrong, really afford to dictate to the human will regardless of the warnings uttered by history. Is an ethical principle primarily something to die for rather than something to live by? Can the will of man authorize a policy of suicide without abdicating its right to a genuine freedom?

If we were, indeed, to pay exclusive attention to certain phases of the history of human morals, it might seem that, in the view of the purest ethical thought, the price of spirituality was the renunciation of the world. Such a doctrine has commanded a large measure of respect in the more advanced religions both of East and West. Philosophers, too, have upheld the same idea, whether it be Plato passionately proclaiming the euthanasia of Socrates, or Kant scholastically vindicating the rigour of the moral law. So there might seem to be nothing in common between the voice of conscience, preaching the absolute supremacy of duty, and the voice of history, prating of consequences and conditions.

It needs, however, but a modest gift of psychological insight to rid us of the paradox that moral goodness is neither of, nor for, this world of living and striving humanity. Up to a point the psychology of devotion and of obsession is the same. A certain contraction of the field of mental illumination accompanies a heightened focus of attention. It is characteristic of the mood of action no less than of the mood of detached contemplation that the consciousness concentrates on a single object. The man who is strung up to the pitch of martyrdom, be it for a good cause or for a bad, has lost the sense of his surroundings. Cost what it may, he will see this thing through. Nevertheless, it is essential that the will, thus braced and mobilized, shall concentrate on the object immediately presented. As the martyr does not look back, so neither does he look forward. He must establish his everlasting kingdom here and now.



He does not sacrifice to that hollow kind of eternity which excludes the present.

Thus, though the man of principle, intensely set on the object before him, cannot spare a glance over his shoulder to see if and how he is being followed, we need not think of him as one who leaves the world of men to take care of itself. The 'noble army of martyrs' is a many in one, and the member of such an army a one in many, inasmuch as a universal rule is individually obeyed for the common good, by each putting it into action for himself without waiting upon the rest. And this army is no exclusive corps, but by the terms of its service embraces all mankind. If there were a general desire on the part of suffering humanity to emigrate from this poor planet, the matter could doubtless be arranged; but, even so, nothing would be gained from the standpoint of ethics, unless sin should somehow be excluded from the baggage.

Let us, then, make all due allowance for the psychological need of attending to the moral intuition regardless of consequences, while notwithstanding we insist that this world of men as a whole is the true sphere of moral endeavour. Thus history, nay, even that humble department of history known as anthropology, may legitimately aspire to shape and guide the thought of the moralist overtaken 'in a cool hour.' The initiative lies with him. History with anthropology merely constitutes an advisory board without power to act. Ethics lays down a policy. History, if it deem such a policy disastrous in the light of past events, can at most seek to dissuade. Ethics does not require to prove its case so long as intuition points the direction clearly. History, on the other hand, must shoulder the burden of disproof, and can hope to affect the ethical judgment only if it can make it highly probable that the proposed course of action is incompatible with the present and future welfare of the human race.

Having thus defined the extent to which we as anthro-



pologists may undertake to throw light on a problem of practical morals, let us proceed to examine that strife of principles which is now agitating Europe, from our own strictly limited point of view.

That a strife of principles of some sort is involved in the present war between the European Powers will, I suppose, hardly be denied. Moreover, if any one were to contend that the principles thus brought into violent conflict were of the purely political order, and did not implicate certain moral and spiritual issues, he might surely be set aside as a superficial observer. The political aspect of the struggle is, doubtless, of no little importance. Democracy is at death-grips with the militant state. But more is at stake than this or that type of social organization. Is it to be a reign of freedom or a reign of force? The moral ideas behind the rival organizations are themselves at war. The more vital question for us, then, is whether anthropology can show which moral idea is likely to defeat the other, whether in the near future or at any rate in the end.

Some philosophers, indeed, would be loth to admit that a war between moral principles is conceivable at all. I am not referring to those thinkers who would simply declare that whatever conflicted with their own moral principles is neither moral nor a principle at all. I am speaking, not of the jingoes of the speculative world, but rather of the pacifists, who would reconcile all contradictions in some higher, if vaguer, unity. It is easy to parody this notion of a formal all-inclusiveness. Thus, once it is assumed that the perfect animal must be omnivorous in the sense of eating nothing in particular, there can be no difficulty in showing how the carnivorous lion and the herbivorous lamb, when fully evolved, may lie down and be happy together. But it is better to allow that, discreetly used, such a philosophic method can do much to promote the harmony of the world, by showing half-truths to be com-



plementary to each other. If, for instance, the democratic interpretation of the principle of freedom were to ignore the need both of self-discipline and of that external system of sanctions which is the school of such self-discipline, then it would be profitable to realize that something may be learnt from the militant state with its uncompromising ideal of a social drill. But it is scarcely in point here to discuss the philosophy of Hegel, more especially seeing that it no longer reflects the spirit of the country where it arose.

In its stead there reigns in the country in question the philosophy of Nietzsche. The world is for the superman. Dominancy within the human kind must be secured at all costs. As for the old values, they are all wrong. Christian humility is a slavish virtue; so is Christian charity. Such values have become 'denaturalized.' They are the by-product of certain primitive activities, which were intended by nature to subserve strictly biological ends, but have somehow escaped from nature's control and run riot on their own account.<sup>1</sup> Hence man, in order to realize his true and natural self, must revert to the primitive. He must put off the new man, and put on the old. Or, if he cannot be archaic in his moral style, at least he can try to be archaistic.

Now, dialectically speaking, it clears the air when one party to a controversy is prepared to define his position in set terms. Often it is only by this means that the other party becomes fully conscious of the purport of his opposition. He who is not with Nietzsche is against him. The adversaries of the nation which appears to find spiritual comfort in a hymn of hate might hesitate to claim a monopoly of the Christian virtues, were it not actually thrust upon them. As between the warring peoples, the religion of love, the philosophy of the brotherhood of man-

<sup>1</sup> See my essay on 'Origin and Validity in Ethics' in *Personal Idealism* (1902), p. 262; cf. A. J. Balfour, *Theism and Humanism* (1915), p. 118.



kind, find their friends on our side, or nowhere; for the other side will have none of them.

That democracy implies a doctrine of love cannot be demonstrated by any formal process of logic. Democracy is not a system but a ferment. The militant state, on the contrary, is a system, and herein lies both its weakness and its strength. It appeals to the head, but it leaves the heart cold. It embodies law; but it fails alike to embrace morality and to enshrine religion. The militant state is static, democracy is dynamic. The one stands until it breaks, the other is a growing thing which suffers death only to live again more abundantly. And the seed of democracy is social sympathy. Viewed externally, the democratic spirit might seem to be but a spirit of revolt. Viewed from within, it is perceived to be a spirit of toleration such as enables outworn conventions to be constantly renewed without rupture of the social tie. Hence democracy is hateful to a certain type of philosopher. It smacks of the infinite, that bugbear of the tidy-minded. It cannot be reduced to an idea; its content is a discontent, which is divine only for those who seek God in the indefinable. This school of thought, indeed, would likewise regard a philosophy of love as something of a misnomer. Love implies hope, which is the despair of knowledge; it implies faith, which is heresy for the dogmatic. Then let us say, in deference to the prejudices of those who view the world through the spectacles of formal logic, that the humanism with which the cause of democracy is bound up is not so much a philosophy as a religion. It involves a more spiritual interpretation of the destiny of man than does the complacent conceptualism of the militant state, which is through and through mechanical in its determination of human functions.

And yet it is the upholders of the militant state who appeal to nature and the primitive—as if the voice of nature and the wild bore unmistakable witness to the truth of



mechanism, of a cosmic arrangement of brute matter organized from without.<sup>2</sup> It is with this aspect of the question that we are especially concerned here. Anthropology is science only in the sense that history is science. It can and it must keep itself free from the philosophy of naturalism, with its cardinal principle of mechanism, determinism, materialism, or whatever its adherents choose to call their creed. Anthropology, then, as being primarily concerned with human nature in its more primitive forms, has simply to report on what it finds, leaving it to philosophy and religion to discuss its findings and draw their own conclusions in their own way. All that anthropology seeks to do as science is to be fair to the facts. Even if they seem to lead up to contradictory conclusions of a philosophical or practical kind, we anthropologists must frame our descriptions, whether particular or general, so as to do equal justice to every phase of the life-history of man.

Now I am not sure if all my anthropological brethren will be content to acquiesce in such a limitation of outlook. Historically, some of them may say, anthropology is the child of the natural sciences; a naturalistic philosophy is the mother's milk whence it first drew sustenance. Well, even if that were so, it does not follow that the same diet must suit it in its riper years. Besides, if it come to that, it might be argued that all history is afflicted with a certain bias towards determinism. After all, it embodies what must be partly and may be wholly an external view of human life. Thus the soulless sort of historian tends to envisage his world of men simply as a puppet-show. But the historian with a soul projects it into his subject, and forthwith his stage is thronged with living actors. So too, then, we need an anthropology with a soul. An exterior account of man is bound to be false, because it leaves man

<sup>2</sup>Cf. *The Edinburgh Review* (Ap. 1914), ccxix., 407, where I have tried to show, in regard to savages, that 'their view of the universe regularly puts the moral aspect above the mechanical.'



out—leaves him out, that is, as he exists in all the ‘warmth and intimacy’ of his conscious self-existence. Hence, if we are to treat of primitive values, it must be by means of a trans-personal appreciation of those values. We must somehow join souls with the so-called child of nature, in order to discover whether the sophisticated ethics of the militant state are really germane to the wild heart of him, whether the inner spring of his psychology is a lust of domination.

How are we to join souls with the savage? In a former address to this Society, I tried to show, in a quite general and untechnical fashion, how this might be done.<sup>3</sup> I then uttered the paradox—at least, it might have seemed a paradox to any other Society but this—that the student of folk-lore, of all the anthropological band, has the best chance of understanding uncultivated humanity with an insight worthy of a true science of man. If he be a bit of a savage himself—as I hope that more than one of us here present may be—he can make friends with the savage at his door. The cottage stands half way between the city and the cave. Inveterate, yet ever young, the peasant cherishes most the things in our life that change least. Does the peasant form the backbone of the militant state? On a hasty view of the matter, he may seem to do so. No man can fight more sturdily than he to defend hearth and home. But does he love war or dominancy for its own sake? I leave the question to be answered by those who know him best. Here at any rate we have ready to hand a touchstone to be applied to this great controversy about the bent of the natural man. Speculation concerning cave-men ‘that tare each other in their slime’ is infinitely less profitable in comparison. If, how, and why the cave-men fought, we cannot tell for sure; though perhaps we can answer for the slime.

My own theory about the peasant, as I know him, and about people of lowly culture in general so far as I have

<sup>3</sup> See *Folk-Lore*, xxv., 26.



learnt to know about them, is that the ethics of amity belong to their natural and normal mood, whereas the ethics of enmity, being but as 'the shadow of a passing fear,' are relatively accidental. Thus to the thesis that human charity is a by-product, I retort squarely with the counter-thesis that human hatred is a by-product. The brute that lurks in our common human nature will break bounds sometimes; but I believe that whenever man, be he savage or civilized, is at home to himself, his pleasure and pride is to play the good neighbour.

It may be urged by way of objection that I over-estimate the amenities, whether economic or ethical, of the primitive state; that a hard life is bound to produce a hard man. I am afraid that the psychological necessity of the alleged correlation is by no means evident to me. Surely the hard-working individual can find plenty of scope for his energies without needing, let us say, to beat his wife. Nor are the hard-working peoples of the earth especially notorious for their inhumanity. Thus the Eskimo, whose life is one long fight against the cold, has the warmest of hearts. Mr. Stefánsson says of his newly discovered 'Blonde Eskimo,' a people still living in the stone-age: 'they are the equals of the best of our own race in good breeding, kindness, and the substantial virtues.'<sup>4</sup> Or, again, heat instead of cold may drive man to the utmost limit of his endurance. Yet the inevitable consequence is not a drying-up of his natural affections. In the deserts of Central Australia, where the native is ever threatened by a scarcity of food, his constant preoccupation is not how to prey on his companions. Rather he unites with them in guilds and brotherhoods, so that they may feast together in the spirit, sustaining themselves with the common hope and mutual suggestion of better luck to come. But there is no need to go so far afield for one's proofs. I appeal to those who have made it their business to be

<sup>4</sup> V. Stefánsson, *My Life with the Eskimo* (1913), 188.



intimate with the folk of our own countryside. Is it not the fact that unselfishness in regard to the sharing of the necessities of life is characteristic of those who find them most difficult to come by? The poor are by no means the least 'rich towards God.' At any rate, if poverty sometimes hardens, wealth, especially sudden wealth, can harden too, causing arrogance, boastfulness, and the bullying temper. 'A proud look, a lying tongue, and the shedding of innocent blood'—these go together.

I am far from suggesting, however, that human nature can afford to dispense with a strain of hardness altogether. The individual needs grit; society needs the legal fibre. This is the point that I was trying to make in my last address to this Society: namely, that a certain fighting quality forms an essential ingredient in all true manliness; though it is only by an aberration and perversion of the genuine impulse that it gives rise to savagery in the damnatory sense of the word. But to-night I am seeking rather to maintain the converse proposition, that there is likewise a gentle element in the natural man which stands to the hard element in a normal relation of superiority.

Let me take as a test case the development of the 'will for power' among the simpler peoples. If it appear that it is on the whole a will to exert power over other men, whereby they may become the slaves of the superman, who in this domination and exploitation of the rest tastes the highest value that life affords, then it would seem that the hard element in human nature is the master-principle. But if it turn out, on the contrary, that it is mainly a will to exert power over self, whereby a spiritual experience, indirectly involving a disposition towards a life of social service, may be attained for its own sake, then, so far as a merely anthropological proof can take us, the presumption is that the gentle element has the better natural right to rule.

Now it cannot be denied that the savage is at one with his civilized brother in wishing to enjoy material blessings



of all sorts. His appetites are hearty. But he can at least claim this merit, that he has not based a philosophy on the desire to wax fat. On the other hand, notions of the type of *mana* or *orenda*, which are of a nascently philosophic order, testify to the predominance in the minds of those who use such expressions of another, and, we may fairly say, a higher form of desire. To have *mana* is incidentally, no doubt, to be able to procure pigs or yams to a more than ordinary extent. It makes a man master of his material environment according to the degree in which the mysterious power is present. But primarily *mana* is sought for its own sake, not merely for what it brings. The felt need is for something indwelling, something pertaining to the inner man. Thus we know how the word *mana* and its derivatives have given birth in the Polynesian dialects to a multitude of phrases expressive of the various activities and states of the soul. 'Feeling,' 'desire,' 'affection,' 'love,' 'belief,' 'memory,' 'thought,' 'the interior of a person,' 'conscience,' 'soul'—all these are attempts on the part of Tregear to translate the native terms into the language of civilization.<sup>5</sup> And the same thought can be shown to be there amongst still humbler folk whose vocabulary is of even more restricted range. Among the Kabi tribe of Queensland the professional healer is said to be *manngur*—full of vitality. He cures his patient by means of certain sacred stones whereby the vital force is transmitted from his own body to that of the sufferer; and we have it on the strength of a native account that there are always such stones in the doctor's inside, his hand, bones, calves, head and nails alike being full of them.<sup>6</sup> So too, among the Kaitish of Central Australia, when the head-man of the grass-seed totem, in the course of making *intichiuma*, has been visiting the store-house where the

<sup>5</sup> E. Tregear, *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary* (1891), s.v. *mana*. Cf. what I say in *The Threshold of Religion*<sup>2</sup>, 118.

<sup>6</sup> J. Mathew, *Eaglehawk and Crow* (1899), 191-2.



*churinga* or sacred stones are kept, and perhaps has carried one of these about with him for days while he 'sings' the grass-seed to make it grow, he becomes 'full of *churinga*'; a consequence of this inward condition being that he must observe strict chastity, since to act otherwise would be *iturka*—deadly sin.<sup>7</sup> These instances will suffice to show—what is indeed by this time of day almost a commonplace of anthropology—that the savage superman is reckoned to be such in virtue of a certain spiritual endowment. This state of the inner man is the means whereby his practical triumphs are effected, but has value on its own account, if only because it is the end to which his striving is proximately directed.

The last example, moreover, calls attention to an aspect of the primitive notion of supernormal power which is a characteristic and even universal feature. *Mana* implies *tabu*. The sense of spiritual invigoration is acquired at the cost of withdrawal into self and away from the world. We need not be offended by the vagaries of *tabu* as practised, say, by the medicine-man or the divine king. If we are astounded that the savage is so freakishly shy, let us at least take note of the fact that he has made a virtue of his shyness, that upon the fabric of his very fears he has founded a stronghold in which the character may develop. It is the sensitive soul, not the callous, that can thus reach high tension by submitting to insulation. Life can afford to undergo simplification only when the object is to bring out an intrinsic richness of tone. This power, then, which comes through self-discipline and self-control is utterly different in kind from the power which discharges itself in wanton riot and the breaking of bounds. The savage in his groping way is trying to be a law unto himself, and instinctively avoids the blasphemy of setting up an ideal of lawlessness among the eternal values.

<sup>7</sup> B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (1904), 293.



In the next place, we note that the primitive theory of supernormal power tends to represent it as a gift, or, one might almost say, as a loan on terms. There is great confusion of thought, to be sure, when it is sought to determine the precise source of the benefit received. It may be, as Codrington declares, that, according to the Melanesian belief, it exclusively belongs to personal beings of a supernatural kind to originate *mana*.<sup>8</sup> If so, this is a far more definite piece of constructive theology than is usually to be extracted from our anthropological records. The state of mind of the typical savage would seem to be too undifferentiated, too blurred, to allow him to distinguish clearly between the value that he prizes and the agency whereby the realization of that value is accomplished.<sup>9</sup> To speak broadly, the agency to which he trusts is a system of rites. A multitude of ceremonial acts and abstinences is the outward vehicle whereby the inward reinforcement is conveyed. That the ritual is a mere medium of communication, that it constitutes a sort of visual language whereby spirit speaks to spirit—such an idea is not likely to take definite shape in his nebulous consciousness.

Yet there are hints, even in the most naïve of primitive theologies, of an awareness that by means of the externals of religion a participation of the human in the divine is brought about. Thus the crystals and other properties whereby the Kabi healer works his cures come from Dhakkan, the Rainbow; and, whereas these cause the doctor to be *manngur*, 'full of vitality,' Dhakkan himself is *manngurngur*, vital and vitalizing in a superlative degree.<sup>10</sup> Even if we grant, however, that, on the whole, ritual is the savage substitute for God, we must go on to admit that a certain strictness of life is thus made the condition of spiritual increase. Not that the power can be claimed by

<sup>8</sup> Codrington, *op. cit.*, 119 n.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. W. K. Wright, *Philosophical Review*, xxv. (1916), 38.

<sup>10</sup> Matthew, *op. cit.*, 192.



right of desert. If it come, it comes as a boon, as something bestowed by act of grace, something received humbly with fear and wonder. This is made plain by the evidence relating to the making of the medicine-man in Australia. The man who finds in himself a special capacity for ecstatic experience proceeds of his own initiative to develop it by means of a long and painful initiation.<sup>11</sup> In a word, he has a 'call' and obeys it. But, if desert cannot command the gift, want of desert can at any time cause it to depart. We remember the Kurnai doctor who confessed to Howitt that he had taken to drinking and then lost all his power.<sup>12</sup> Once again, by a slightly different train of thought, we are brought to see that the savage will for power is, at its most conscious, a will to be strong in spite of, rather than for the sake of, the animal nature. Such a will is fitly associated with a spirit of humility, because the man in us is ever afraid of the brute. Hence, if the monster leave him in freedom even for a brief space, he is ready to offer thanks to some divine Helper.

Lastly, the power thus willed and sought involves a capacity for social service, though as it were indirectly and by way of implication. At first sight the savage conception of supernatural power may seem to be quite unmoral. The wonder-working healer and the baneful sorcerer, the good spirit and the bad, are alike powerful in a transcendent way. That there should be some ambiguity in the notion is inevitable. A judgment from heaven is easily mistaken for a plague from hell. Or, again, magic and religion are wont to borrow weapons from each other's armouries, the black mass parodying the sacred rites of the Church, while the exorcist defeats the wizard simply by reversing the machinery. Nevertheless, at the most primitive levels of thought, as the facts of language prove, there is a clear distinction drawn between powers of light and powers of

<sup>11</sup> Cf. H. Hubert et M. Mauss, *Mélanges d'Histoire des Religions* (1909), 171.

<sup>12</sup> A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (1904), 409.



darkness.<sup>13</sup> Conformably with such a dualistic terminology, a use and a misuse of supernormal power are recognized as polar opposites. In practice, indeed, this antithesis is not likely to be applied consistently, more especially when the reference is not to men, but to remoter beings such as spirits or gods. Savages sometimes descend to a veritable devil-worship, placating the evil demon with a fawning submission, and incidentally flattering the devilish element in themselves. On the whole, however, they know the bad kind of superman from the good. Thus one who has the evil eye is always abominable. Primitive philosophy is hardly capable of the paradox of admiring a good hater. If a man work black magic, let him die the death—so runs the universal code. On the other hand, to exert supernormal power, individually or collectively, in connexion with an initiation ceremony or a fertility rite, is the mark of a leader and friend of the community. The good kind of supernormal power is known by its fruits. Nevertheless, it would be a shallow psychology that detected in the will for such power nothing but the mechanical response to a social stimulus and sanction. Rather the social situation which calls the power into play is the passive condition, the mere occasion, of the spiritual process whereby the higher plane of experience is reached. The superman is in some sense supersocial. Even when he is in the midst of the congregation he may feel that he walks alone with God. This truth, we may suspect, is apprehended by the savage in his own way. At any rate, he would seem to value *mana*, fruitful as he knows it to be, not merely for the good works it enables him to perform, but also, and even chiefly, for what it is in itself, namely, a quickening and enlargement of the spirit. His will for power, in the form which has alone found clear expression in his philosophy, is a will for confidence and peace of mind.

So much, then, by way of a summary account of what

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *The Threshold of Religion*<sup>2</sup>, 85.



seems to me to be the most explicitly conceived of primitive values. If we apply to the known facts about the peoples of the lowliest culture the method which has the right to say the last word in anthropology—I mean, a psychological method, a method of critical introjection—we seem to reach conclusions that are diametrically opposed to the contention of Nietzsche; who suggests that the natural man values power simply as a means of self-aggrandizement and the exploitation of his fellows. Nietzsche is welcome to his own opinion as to what should be the final rendering of the idea of virtue. That is a matter of choice; and, being so, it is apt to become an affair of battle-ships and armies. But when Nietzsche implies that it is likewise the original rendering of the idea of virtue, he can be proved by the verdict of anthropology to be wrong; unless, indeed, he claim that the modern savage as compared with his prehistoric ancestor is as ‘denaturalized’ as the Christian, or perhaps even more ‘denaturalized’ than some people who call themselves Christians.

Now it would be ridiculous if one sought to represent the man living in a state of nature—if by ‘nature’ we mean primitive culture—as a sort of ‘plaster saint.’ The burden of my last address to this Society was that savagery in the sense of ferocity and cruelty is indeed incidental to such a lowly state of society; at any rate so far as concerns the inhabitants of the world’s chief areas of characterization, where the struggle for existence is most severe. But I tried to show that the fighting quality of these tougher stocks involved brutality by way of accident rather than of essence.<sup>14</sup> At any rate the savage cannot be charged with claiming for sundry hysterical ebullitions of the blood-lust that these are the only principles having supreme value. Just as there are all sorts of men, so there are all sorts of moods to be reckoned with at every stage of human evolution, and it cannot be contended that the savage, with

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Folk-Lore*, xxvi. (1915), 26.



his relatively undeveloped intelligence, has as good a chance as we have of discriminating accurately and soundly between his better and his worse impulses. But, as we have just seen, he is at least capable of giving to the cult of power for power's sake an ennobling interpretation. For he recognizes a spiritual kind of power, whereby we may become masters of that inner world which is the true kingdom of man.

Indeed, I believe, with my friend Mr. M'Dougall, that the emotional nature of man is on the whole so stable as to vary little in its most characteristic manifestations from age to age and from race to race. Thus, even in a psychological sense, we are justified in speaking of the everlasting values. At heart a man, be he civilized or savage, knows whether he is worthy or unworthy of his own self-respect, whether he has or has not a right to rejoice in the plenitude and strength of his inward being. He may rank as a great lord, yet know himself a lackey; may see the buffoon's face in the glass while he paints it up for the part of stage-hero.

When a king was raised to the throne in Madagascar, he must cry aloud three times: 'Have I the power?' Whereupon the assembled people cried back: 'The power is thine.' And the word they used, *hasina*, means 'spiritual power.'<sup>15</sup> Suppose a man to be crowned emperor of all the world; and suppose all his dutiful subjects, the professors of ethics with the rest, to shout, 'Thou art the most powerful and therefore the best of men.' Would he be satisfied, if his heart told him it was a lie? He might believe that his temporal power made him the best of men, if his heart had gone rotten, if he had contracted the lie in the soul. But not otherwise—to judge at least by what anthropology has to teach concerning the healthy instincts of the natural man.

R. R. MARETT.

<sup>15</sup> A. van Gennep, *Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar* (1904), 82.



# MABINOGION.

BY JOSEF BAUDIŠ.

IT has long been recognised that the Mabinogion is a store-house of old motives, but very little has been done in the way of tracing these particular motives to the methods adopted by the Welsh story-tellers in their arrangement of them. This paper is intended as a contribution to this inquiry.

## PLAN OF THE INQUIRY.

### PART I.: THE FIRST BRANCH OF THE MABINOGION.

*A. Pwyll and Arwyl:* Three motives: (a) Exchange of external appearance.—Norse parallels.—Explanation of the belief.—(b) Chaste cohabitation.—Parallels in Norse and the Twin Brothers Tale.—(c) Killing of Havgan.

*B. The Other World:* Pwyll's journey belongs to the Other World expeditions. Irish parallels.—Mr. M'Culloch's theory about the Celtic Elysium.—Are we to presuppose two different ideas: that of Elysium and that of the Land of the Dead? Irish *síde* and ancestral cult. *Síde* denotes Irish supernatural beings. *Tíatha Dé Danann* belonged originally only to the *síde* of the Connaught cycle. Abodes of *síde* convey both ideas: that of Elysium and that of the Country of the Dead. In Welsh we find these two different aspects of the Other World, and similarly in other folklore. We confine ourselves to the Other World. The double aspect of the Other World is to be explained through the development of primitive belief. Connection of the insular Celtic belief with the Gaulish religion. The



King of Other World is represented as Death the Hunter. Pwyll's relation to the Other World.

*C. The Rest of the First Branch.* Motives: Pwyll and Gwawl is an independent *Mährchen*.—Rhiannon.—Parallels to this story.—Kidnapping of Pryderi belongs to the Mysterious Hand motives.—Plight of Rhiannon and the Abandoned Wife story (and Female Taboo Breaker).—Traces of Supernatural Birth (two categories of such Birth stories).—Irish Birth stories.—How the fusion of all these motives came to pass?—Abandoned Wife motive was introduced to account either for some aspect of Rhiannon's character or it was to explain Pryderi's name, which was explained as derived from *pryder*. Etymology of the name. Pryderi's relation to Annwfn and to the Gaulish tradition about the origin of the Gaulish nation.

*D. Gwri Wallt Euryn and Mabon vap Modron.* Gwri is probably not identical with Mabon, because the history of Gwri (Pryderi) and that of Mabon are not identical.—If everything told about Pryderi relates to Gwri, how came Pryderi into the Mabinogion at all?—The similarities of different tales are to be explained in the way that in Wales there existed similar tales about different persons.

*E. The Origins of the Mabinogi Tales.* Mr. W. J. Gruffydd's theory. We have no proofs that the first branch of the Mabinogion is of the same origin as the Irish saga of Mongán. The history of Llew Llawgyffes is not identical with the Irish *Aided Conrói*.—Possibility of foreign influences.—There are striking similarities between the Welsh story and the Egyptian tale.—The Irish story of Étaín and a Jataka story.

## PART I.: THE FIRST BRANCH OF THE MABINOGL.

### *A. Pwyll and Arawn.*

(a) The first motive, the mutual exchange of external appearance, forms a leading motive in the northern version of the Nibelungen-cycle (Norse *Niflung*). First, it



occurs in the introduction to the whole cycle, and then later when Sigfrid (Sigurðr) wins Brunhild (Sigrdrífa) for Gunther (Gunnar). The idea of mutual exchange of the body is based on the conception of the body being similar to removable clothes (Icel. *hamr*, "skin"; cf. *hamramr* or *eigieinhamr*, "able to exchange one's form"); a witch or magician can change the appearance of another man by putting the *hamr* on him, and it is the task of the hero to destroy this magical *hamr*. The swanmaidens cannot resume their bird-shape if their *hamr* is stolen from them. This belief is based on primitive conceptions of life. To primitive man there is no difference between an animal and a human being; their external form is only a casual accident: "the bear whom the savage meets in the woods is too cunning to appear and to battle with him as a man, but he could if he chose" (Hartland, *The Science of Fairy Tales*, 26). Our motive is only a logical consequence of this ancient savage belief: if shape-shifting is possible, why cannot two human beings also exchange their shape one with another? This motive is also very closely connected with the True Wife motive: the wife is changed into an animal and the sorceress or her daughter takes her place. In most of these stories the impostress maintains her position by disguise; in some stories the *quid pro quo* can be explained by the social conditions of the indigenous culture (cf. M'Culloch, *Childhood of Fiction*, pp. 24 ff.), but some at least must belong to our group, so e.g. the Bushman story, "The Wife of the Dawn's Heart Star" (Bleek & Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, pp. 89 ff.), where a hyena takes the place of *Kó-ginuiñ-tára*, the wife of Jupiter star. But is this belief commensurate with the belief that the soul retains the characteristics of the body (man's double)? To this we can answer that it is not necessary that those ideas should coincide; we find many such discrepancies which may be due to different culture-strata. As regards the different conceptions concerning



the soul and body, we have the best example in the old Egyptian creed. However it may be, the shape-shifting theory does not presuppose that the person is totally transformed; Norse belief makes the integral part of the original personality, the eyes, to persist, while all the rest is changed.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to say whether there was anything similar in Welsh. At any rate we have no traces of it. It is, of course, not necessary to assume any historical continuity between the Welsh and Teutonic motives. It is, however, remarkable that in both Teutonic and Welsh we find this motive combined with that of *chaste cohabitation*.

(b) This last motive we find very often in the story of the Twin brothers (*vide* Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, i. pp. 24 ff.). The first brother, who has won the hand of a princess, is turned to stone; his twin brother, learning of his brother's peril, comes to his court, plays his rôle (at night he sometimes puts his sword between himself and his sister-in-law), and finally disenchant the petrified hero. This story is known as a modern folk motive through the whole of Europe. But here the resemblance between the two brothers accounts for the situation.

(c) As to the third motive, we often find that a magician or spirit can be killed only in some particular way, *i.e.* there are certain *taboos* limiting his life-powers. In the theme we are studying the taboo is that the hero shall not give his adversary a second stroke.<sup>2</sup> In modern Irish stories we find another motive: the giant's head after it has been hewn off creeps to the body again, and the hero prevents its reunion with the body; for if the head should

<sup>1</sup>The Irish lay stress on the preservation of the human voice: "Agus do ghabh aithreachas ann sin Aoife, agus adubhairt: 'Ó nach féadaim aon chabhair eile do thabhairt orraibh feasda biaidh bhur n-úrlabhra féin agaibh . . . agus biaidh bhur dtreoir agus bhur n-oirbheart agaibh.'" *Oidhe Chloinne Lir*, § 20.

<sup>2</sup>Miss Weston wrongly compares with this motive Peredur's sword (*Percival*, l. 147).



be joined to the body, not even the fairy doctors could sever it from the body again.

*B. Other World.*

This first part of the first Branch had originally to account for Pwyll's connection with Annwvn. This association of Pwyll with Annwvn is mentioned also in the fourth Branch of Mabinogi (Math vab Mathonwy), where Pwyll gets pigs as a present from the Other World (B.B. fo. 752, W.B. 191 : *Moch y gelwir weithon*. "*Pwy biewynt wy?*" *Pryderi vab Pwyll, yd anvonet idaw o Annwn, y gan Arawn vrenhin Annwn*).

Pwyll's voyage to Annwvn belongs to the category of Other-World voyages (Ir. *eachtra*). These voyages are often of a friendly character, but sometimes they take the form of a conquest of the Other World. Help given by mortals to the King of the Other World is a frequent motive;<sup>3</sup> in the Irish saga literature that of Cúchulainn (in *Serglige Conculaind*) is the most typical. Cúchulainn helps *Labraid Luath lám ar claideb*, the King of Mag Mell, against his enemies, who belong also to the inhabitants of the Other World. In modern Irish folk-tales we find a similar motive: a mortal man is requested by the *sídhéogai* to help them in their match against other *sídhéogai*, or he is to assist them in kidnapping the King of France's daughter.

From these later parallels we may argue that there was a belief that a human being is able to vanquish the fairy people, etc., and this doctrine may be the real reason why Arawn requests Pwyll to fight for him against Havgan.

Now, there might be another question: are the Irish *sídhéogai* identical with the inhabitants of Annwvn, and what is Annwvn? There are scholars who accept two Other Worlds, *i.e.* "the Land of the Dead" and

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. C. L. Brown, *Harvard University Studies and Notes in Literature and Philology*, viii. 41.



Elysium. Mr. M'Culloch (*The Religion of Anc. Celts*, p. 370) is of the opinion that "the origin of the Celtic Elysium belief may be found in several myths of a golden age long ago in some distant Elysian region, where men had lived with the gods. Into that region brave mortals might still penetrate.... Possibly the Celtic myth of man's early intercourse with the gods in a lost region took two forms. In one it was a joyful subterranean region whither the Celt hoped to go after death. In the other it was not recoverable, nor was it a land of the dead. The Celtic Elysium belief...is always of this second kind. We surmise, however, that the land of the dead was a joyous underworld ruled over by a god of fertility and of the dead, and from that region men had originally come forth. The later association of gods with the *síd* was a continuation of this belief, but now the *síd* are certainly not a land of the dead, but Elysium pure and simple. There must therefore have been at an early period a tendency to distinguish between the happy region of the dead and the distant Elysium, if the two were ever really connected."

This theory, however, does not account for all the tales which refer to the Other World, because there are stories where the inhabitants of the Other World are by no means friendly to the intruders into their domains. Again, it has to be proved whether the Irish *síde* do not owe their origin to ancestor-worship; and finally, the above-quoted theory presupposes that the old Celtic cultus was in olden times so developed and uniform that there was no room for contradictory ideas as regards the posthumous existence of man and more general conceptions of the universe.

Now, ancestor-worship has not been taken enough into account in the study of Celtic mythology, and yet we must take into consideration the fact that some of the fairy hills (*síd*) are really old burying places, *e.g.* the Brugh of Boyne is the abode of Oengus (*Mac ind-Óc*). According to Maelmuire Othna, the nobles of the Túatha Dé Danann



were buried in a Brugh (so Dagda with his three sons and Ollam and Ogma). According to Acallam na Senórach, three sons of Lugaid Menn came to the Brugh of Boyne and fasted; Bodb Derg (Dagda's son) came out of the Brugh and said: "It was revealed to the *Túatha Dé Danann* that ye would come to fast here to-night for lands and great fortune." They went into the Brugh, and remained there for three days. Another old burial place, Cruachan, is the abode of the *Síde* of Connaught. This proves that the *síde* are really connected with the old burial places. Now these *síde* are identical—as we have already seen—with the chiefs of the *Túatha Dé Danann*. We find the same in the old Irish sages; so Lug mac Ethlenn says to Cúchulinn (*Táin bó Cúailnge*, ed. Strachan, ll. 1805-6): *Is messe do athair a ssídib*. The composer of Fiacc's Hymn uses the word *síde* to denote the pagan gods (v. 41): *For tuaith h-Érenn bai temel tuatha adortaís síde*. One might, however, suppose that this identification of *síde* is later, and that originally the *Túatha Dé Danann* were a race of gods. But what we know about the *Túatha De Danann* conveys a rather different idea; they were superhuman beings whose power was due to their knowledge of magic, and they differ very little from powerful magicians. It is, at least for me, a question whether the insular Celts had any idea of gods in the same sense as the Greeks and Romans. Neither does the name of *Túatha Dé Danann* suggest that the bearers of this name were real gods.<sup>4</sup> According to the Lebor Gabála, the *Túatha Dé Danann* preceded the Milesians, who deprived them of the possession of the land. Now, some Irish tribes only are of true Milesian origin, others derive their origin from the *Túatha Dé Danann*, and others again from the *Fir Bolg*.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. *Cath Maige Tuired Cunga*, § 20. "Imthusa Tuaithe De Danann (*N.B.* singular number), roforbredur co clos a scela fa (th)irib in talman. Robi dia drai[d]echta acu fen Eochaid Ollathir .i. in Dagda mor, uair ba daigdia é. Robadur ta(isig) trena talchara acu 7 fir caineladnacha gacha ceirde."



We find in Irish genealogies occasional names of the *Túatha Dé Danann*. We might explain these facts simply as arising out of the euhemeristic tendencies of the Irish genealogists, according to which the Christian historians endeavoured to change the old Irish nature gods into old kings; but such a tendency must have been supported somehow by the old tradition, for instance by the occurrence of the *Túatha Dé Danann* in the old pedigrees, or by a tradition according to which the old gods lived on the earth. Such traditions are by no means rare in the mythical history of nations. And, further, we must not forget that there were different strata of population in ancient Ireland, as *e.g.* Fir Bolg, Ulstermen, Picts and Milesians, and so it would be most natural to regard the *Túatha Dé Danann* as such a tribe, especially since some races derived their origin from them.

The name *Túatha Dé Danann* probably belonged only to some of these *síde*, and was extended by the Lebor Gabála to all such beings. It was the same case as with the Fir Bolg: the territory of Bolg is proved by L.U. 56 /T.B.C. 1. 87 to have been somewhere near Roscommon, as L.L. 56<sup>a</sup> has instead of *Bolga*: *Badbgna*. This *Bolga* (acc. plur.) was thus a name of local character, and Lebor Gabála has changed it to the name of a whole race. Now the cycle in which *Túatha Dé Danann* play a really important rôle is the cycle represented by Cath Maighe Tuireadh and similar stories, and even this Cath Maighe Tuiread is localised in Connaught, and the memory of this battle survives there to our own day. (I have heard it as *cath na bpunnann*) Take now the Ulster saga. What have the *Túatha Dé Danann* to do there? There were obviously no traditions of such a character. Here the supernatural characters appear only as *síde*. The same holds true for the *Érnai* cycle (Conaire Mór). Here the *síde* have a prominent rôle, and their supernatural character is here quite clear, but there is no sign that there



ever existed in the Érnai district a saga about *Túatha Dé Danann*, a divine race, conquerors of the Fomorians and predecessors of the Milesians, and so it appears that *síde* is an original old Irish name for supernatural beings. The name *Túatha Dé Danann* was known only in some parts of Ireland (Connaught), and *Lebor Gabála*, employing this name for its purposes, made it known through the whole of Ireland. And so we see that our attention must be turned only to the *síde*.

We understand now quite well why the composer of Fiacc's Hymn wrote

*tuatha adortaís síde.*

Most of them were *dei terreni*, but this does not exclude (at least in some degree) ancestral character. In later times they are equivalent to fairies, and these are, *e.g.* in Slavonic, to a great extent "souls" of deceased maidens. This parallel would also account (at least partly) for the Irish *Tír na mban*. One might object to this explanation that *síd* is always a fairyland, a pleasant place, where there is no sorrow, and it is a privilege of some people only to come there. But this fairyland seems by no means to be always such a desirable country. In modern folklore the kidnappings of human beings by fairies are considered as something rather unpleasant. The Old Irish *Echtra Nerai* does not represent the inhabitants of Cruachan-Sid as very benevolent to the Connaught people. The same we might gather from the story of Etáin.

We must not forget, further, that for primitive man there was no precise break between death and life. The dead lived in the tomb (or in the Other World) the same life as he lived in this world, and it was not believed impossible that the dead could revive again.

After all, we must not forget that this same fairyland is sometimes the object of expeditions which resemble closely expeditions to Hades. So, for example, the expedition to



the Isle of Falga, where the Irish people get the wonderful cauldron. We find a similar expedition mentioned in a Welsh poem (Skene, ii. 181, Book of Taliesin, 256), where this cauldron is called *peir pen annwryn*, and we learn that Arthur made a disastrous expedition to this region (*A phan aetham ni gan Arthur... namyn seith ny dyrreith o Gaer Vedwit*). The *Caer Sidi* mentioned in the same poem is a horrible prison of Gweir, who sits there before spoils of Hades (*rac preideu annwryn*), and yet the same place appears in another poem like paradise (Skene, ii. 155, B. of Tal. 16):

*Ys kyweir vyg kadeir yg Kaer Sidi,  
Nys plawd neb heint a heneint a vo yndi.  
Ys gwyr Manawyt a Phryderi.  
Teir oryan y am tan a gan recdi.  
Ac am y banneu ffrydyeu gweilgi.  
Ar ffynnhawen ffrwythlawen yssydd o ducht.  
Ys chwegach nor gwin gwyn y llyn yndi.*

All these facts prove only that Annwvn and fairy-land have two aspects: one of a beautiful blessed country and the other of a dangerous region. This other aspect is not infrequent in folklore; Teutonic and Slavonic folklore knows many stories dealing with expeditions to that country; the Old Babylonian has a story about Izdubar's expedition to Hades (*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xii. 275 f.), and the Kichés of Central America believed that Hun-Ahpu and Xbalanque came to the realms of Xibalba (Underworld) [Popol Vuh, bk. ii.].

And so, I think, it is safest to speak only about the Other World (or Other Worlds) and fairies.

It is obvious, however, that beside the old belief there might have been also other motives which might have influenced the conception of the Other World and of fairies; I mean especially ethnical motives: an alien race and a distant country might have been regarded as an



Other World ; the predatory expeditions of some successful chieftains against an alien country may have enriched this motive. So it is possible that the poem from B. of Tal. 25<sup>b</sup> (Skene, ii. 181) relates partially to some prehistoric expedition (cf. Skene, i. 228). The same ethnical traces some scholars see in modern fairy-lore (cf. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, but see also Hartland's *Science of Fairy Tales*, pp. 349 ff.). Similar traces of peoples who dwelt in some subterranean locality are suggested by Popol Vuh.

We see that the conception of the Other World is a complex one, that it results from various motives, and I do not suppose that we have any right to presuppose that in the earliest times this conception was much simpler. The Insular Celts, as they came to the British Isles, had already absorbed many foreign elements, and assimilating the older population of the British Isles they underwent further modifications ; we can hardly expect that the different stages of culture through which they had to pass should not have left traces in Insular Celtic religious conceptions, coexisting with others which were quite contradictory to these. In many religions we find different strata and different or contradictory ideas one beside the other, the best example of this being found in the old Egyptian religion. One might, however, object that the analogy of Egyptian religion does not prove anything for the old Celtic, and I must agree with this ; but there are certain facts in folklore survivals which prove that in Britain two contradictory ideas existed. Sir Laurence Gomme has proved that there existed two different attitudes towards the deceased, one of which was based on fear of the dead, and another reflecting love towards the deceased (*Ethnology in Folklore*, pp. 109 ff. and especially 125 ff.). I will not argue that these different survivals presuppose different races. I think it possible that these new influences may be of other kinds beyond the racial admixture : this question is, however, the old *crux* of archaeology, being identical with



the question: "Does a new culture presuppose a new race?" There is, however, another difficulty in Sir Laurence Gomme's deductions. He thinks the Indo-European creed was a clearly developed system; but there are so many difficulties in the reconstruction of this old creed, seeing that we know nearly as little about Indo-European beliefs as we know about the creed of the pre-Celtic inhabitants, that we come to the conclusion there is little definitely proved about either. Hence there remains nothing but to remember the often-quoted words (Caesar, *De bello Gallico*, vi. 18. 1): *Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos praedicant, idque ab Druidibus proditum dicunt...*, which would again point in favour of ancestral elements in Celtic religion. From this "Other World" some bold or chosen mortal can get precious gifts or immense booty. That this "Other World" is not represented always in the same manner is a known fact (*vide* M'Culloch, *Rel. of Anc. Celts*, pp. 362 ff.). In our case it has an actual existence in Britain, but there are in Welsh also other conceptions of this region, e.g. as a distant island (see Skene, ii. 153).<sup>5</sup>

Finally, it must be remembered that Arawn had some wonderful dogs, "and of all the hounds that he (*i.e.* Pwyll) had seen in the world he had never seen any that were like unto these. For their hair was of a brilliant shining white, and their ears were red; and as the whiteness of their bodies shone, so did the redness of their ears glisten" (R.B. fo. 710/11, W.B. fo. 171 a-b: *Ac or a welsei ef o helgryn y byt, ny welsei cwn un lliw ac wynt. Sef lliw oed arnunt: clærwynn llathreit ac eu clusteu yn gochyon. Ac val y llathrei wynnet y cwn y llathrei cochet y clusteu*). These hounds are the *cwn Annwn* of the Modern Welsh folklore

<sup>5</sup> There is often a *taboo* not to eat any of the food of the Other World: whoso partakes of it cannot return to this world (Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, pp. 37 *sqq.*), but in the Pwyll story we do not find any trace of such a taboo.



(*vide* Miss Marie Trevelyan, *Folk-lore and Folk-stories of Wales*, pp. 47-54), which are regarded as an omen of death, a fact which speaks in favour of our conception of Annwn. It may, of course, be objected that this modern belief may be a later development of the folk-belief, but we must acknowledge, on the other side, that the idea of *Death as Hunter* (cf. our hunting scene in Mabinogi) is a very old and very common one; and so it is quite clear that the King of *Annwn* is represented as a king of the country of Death. But this region was not always described as a beautiful and desirable country (*e.g.* Procopius, *De bello Gothico*, iv. 20. 24), but as the belief was never homogeneous, death appeared sometimes as a horrible demon and sometimes as a good man (so *e.g.* in the tales, *Death as a Godfather*).<sup>6</sup>

Pwyll is probably an ancestor of some *Dyved* (Demetae) tribe, but he is at the same time in a very close connection with the Under World, so we find in old Welsh poems (Skene, ii. 181; Book of Taliesin, 25 b):

*Bu kyweir Karchar Gweir yg Kaer Sidi  
Trwy ebostol Pwyll a Phryderi;*

and (Skene, ii. 155):

*Ys kyweir vyg Kadeir yg Kaer Sidi  
Ys gwyr Manawyrt a Phryderi,*

which makes it probable that Pwyll is a supernatural being, *penn Annwyn*, chief of the Under World, and the tale is told to account for this title and to explain how *Pwyll penndevic Dyvet* was at the same time *penn Annwn*.

[The name Pwyll means "sense" (Irish *cíall*). Such a name as an ancestor-name is not unique. The indigenous Bohemian kings derived their origin from a mythic ancestor (ploughman), *Přemysl*, which means a "thoughtful one."]

<sup>6</sup> Brown, *Harvard Studies*, viii. 48/7, suggests that Arawn is here used instead of *Manawyddan* (Ir. *Manannán*); about this suggestion *vide infra*.



*C. The Second Part of this Branch.*

The second part of this branch of the Mabinogi deals with *Pwyll* and *Rhiannon*, and it contains again three leading motives.

(a) *Pwyll* and *Gwawl* ;

(β) *Rhiannon* punished for her supposed killing of her own child ; and

(γ) "Stolen child."

(a) The first motive was originally an independent *Mährchen* ; that the application of this *Mährchen* to *Pwyll* and *Gwawl* was pretty current is proved by the repeated mention of enmities between *Pwyll's* son *Pryderi* and *Llwyd vab Cil Coet*, who endeavours to avenge his friend *Gwawl* on *Pryderi* and *Rhiannon* ; even the *gware broch yg cot* (R.B. 750, W.B. 170 a) is mentioned.

The name of *Rhiannon* is identical with the name of the Old Celtic *Rigantona* (name of goddess), but I do not know whether we are right in supposing that our *Rhiannon* is an ancient goddess ; what we know of her from Mabinogi allows only one conclusion ; it is that she is a lady of great magical knowledge, and in this point she does not differ from *Gwydyon*, about whom the Old Welsh poem says (R.B. ; Skene, ii. 302) :

*Neu Lleu a Gwydyon*

*a vuant gelwydyon.*

*neu a wedant lyfyrion.*

"Or *Lleu* and *Gwydyon*  
were they creators (or skilful producers),  
or did they know books ?"

This suggests that these mythical personages were merely great magicians, or that even if they possessed a divine power, this power resulted merely from their knowledge of magic.

As to the tale itself, Miss Lucy Paton (*Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, p. 225 n. 5) com-



pares the entrapping of Gwawl with an incident from Parcival's career: a knight asked Parcival to rescue him from a tomb, which done, the ungrateful knight imprisoned Parcival himself in the tomb. This incident is, however, to be compared rather with a trick of the Irish *Naked Hangman* (*vide Ériu*, vii. 201). The magic bag, however, is well known from other stories, *e.g.* that of The Three Gifts. One of those gifts is a magical bag, and the hero imprisoned therein is a devil or Death. The imprisoned devil gets a sound hammering (*cf. gware broch*).

Prof. A. C. L. Brown (*Harvard Studies*, viii. 49) thinks that the original idea of this tale is similar to that of Iwain, "the idea of representing the *fée* as guarded by a suitor or husband who must be overthrown before she can be approached might naturally be developed." I am *a priori* disinclined to presuppose such very wide formulas for cycles containing such divergent motives. This method ignores, further, the fact that our stories are mostly compilations of different tales, and finally it must not be forgotten that two stories with some similar or identical motives do not necessarily presuppose the same original story.

The formula how Gwawl deceived Pwyll reminds us of Étaín's story: Mider won a game against Eochaid and named Eochaid's wife as the stake, and Eochaid was to give him Étaín.

As for the tabooed hill (Gorsedd), *vide* MacInnes, *Folk and Hero Tales*, p. 456 (note to p. 97).

(β) and (γ) It will be better to take the (γ) motive first. Pryderi is stolen by a mysterious hand. This motive is very frequent in Irish and Scotch Gaelic, and has two distinct variants:

(a) Either the child is saved by a werwolf (*cf. Scottish Celtic Review*, i. (Tuairsgeul mòr), note by A. Nutt, p. 140; Kittredge, *Harvard University Studies in Phil. and Lit.* viii. 227).



(b) Or the rescuer is a hero (Finn in MacInnes, p. 62 f.; J. M'Dougall, *Folk and Hero Tales*, pp. 12 ff.; *vide* Kittredge, *op. cit.* 223).

[Cf. A.S. Beowulf, but his name suggests a person with werewolf attributes. Cf. Kittredge, *l.c.* 227.]

(a) The motive of the kidnapped infant is sometimes entangled in the *Amor and Psyche* (Beauty and the Beast) Cycle (Mod. Ir. in C.Z. i. 176 ff.; Gaelic, M'Dougall, *Folk Tales and Fairy Lore*, p. 2 ff.). Soon after the Beast's wife has borne a child a mysterious hand steals the infant. Sometimes the incident of dropping or tearing away the hand does not occur. [A Scotch story seems to identify the Mysterious Hand with the Beauty's Husband (cf. also Kittredge, *op. cit.* 241, n. 4).]

(β) There is, however, another kidnapping motive; the tale where it occurs is pretty common in the whole of Europe. A maiden breaks the *taboo* not to enter a (tabooed) room; in consequence of her disobedience she is banished (and usually deprived of speech); a prince finds her and marries her, but whenever the young princess gives birth to a child, the being (whom she has offended by breaking the taboo) comes and steals the child away. The mother is accused of cannibalism and sentenced to death.

Sometimes the thief of the children throws the suspicion of cannibalism directly on the mother by smearing her mouth with blood. A similar incident is found in the *Abandoned Wife* (Genofefa) Cycle, where the wife is blackmailed by the mother-in-law or by her jealous sisters (see Kittredge *l.c.* 241 f.).

Now we find in the Mabinogi story a real *Mysterious Hand* motive, but we find also incidents which apparently belong to the other above-mentioned cycles, viz. (1) measures are taken to throw on Rhiannon a suspicion of cannibalism, (2) the mother is punished.

It is to be noticed that in tales where the Mysterious Hand steals the infant the mother is not suspected of any heinous



crime. In cases where it is entangled in the Amor and Psyche motive the wife has to suffer from the jealousy of the other woman, and so we might think that it was also here a jealousy or hatred which brought Rhiannon into this evil plight. But, unfortunately, we have no proofs of it; it is just here that our story differs from those mentioned under (β). The attendants accuse Rhiannon of cannibalism merely to avoid the punishment for their carelessness; and so we can only say that two different cycles have been combined. It seems that there have been mixed up both cycles mentioned under (β); the fact that the child was stolen in the Taboo-Breaker Cycle may have contributed to overlapping in this direction. There is, however, one incident which points to the Abandoned Wife Cycle, viz. the lord's demand of Pwyll to put away his wife because of the heinous crime which she has committed (R.B. 723, W.B. fo. 178 a-b, *Ar gwyrd a doethant y gyt y wneuthur cennaden at Pwyll y erchi idaw yscar ae wreic am gyflavan mor anwedus a rywnaethod*). Pwyll declined this request; now just such repudiation was the fate of the Abandoned Wife,<sup>7</sup> and so we are probably right in supposing that this cycle also has influenced our tale.

As for Rhiannon's punishment,<sup>8</sup> she has to sit at the outer gate of the court and to tell her story to every comer and to offer to carry him to the court, i.e. she is degraded to a mule. We find another such incident in her life: when she was imprisoned in the enchanted castle (Branch: Manawydan vab Llyr), she had the collars of the asses, after they have been carrying hay, about her neck (R.B. 751,

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Kittredge, *Harvard University Studies and Notes*, viii. p. 242 ff.

<sup>8</sup> But cf. the Abandoned Wife's punishment in Dolopathos (Oesterley, 75): "*Ipsam vero, nulla sibi pro se respondendi aut negandi crimen facultate concessa, vivam in medio palatii sui infodi usque ad mamillas iubet, precipiens omnibus militibus, servientibus, scurris et parasitis ut pransuri aut cenaturi manus super uxoris caput abluerent abstergerentque capillis, nullusque ei alius ad reficiendum daretur cibus quam qui canibus parabatur. Mansit autem sub hac iniuria septem continuos annos.*"



W.B. fo. 191 a, *A Rhiannon a vydei a mynweireu yr essynn wedy bydyn(t) yn kywein gweir am y mynwgyl hitheu*); that is again a degradation to a mule. These two incidents relating to the same fact are probably two different ways of explaining some aspect of Rhiannon's character, about which we cannot say anything more.<sup>9</sup>

There are, however, two situations belonging to another quite different cycle, viz. ( $\alpha$ ) Pwyll's men were complaining of Rhiannon's barrenness. Pwyll asked a respite of one year, and at the end of this time Rhiannon was delivered of a son. ( $\beta$ ) Gwri Wallt Euryn (= Pryderi) was given the horse born on the night the child was found.

According to the first passage we should expect that Rhiannon was barren, and that this barrenness was in some way removed. Stories of removed barrenness are very frequent in fairy lore. Sometimes the childless parents get a remedy from a mysterious being, but they are to give up the firstborn (son), who, after having been given to the demon, breaks the shrine-taboo (*vide* M'Culloch, *Childhood of Fiction*, 410-415). One might therefore suppose that Rhiannon was barren, and that the being who gave her the remedy was identical with the owner of the Mysterious Hand, but this combination does not, after all, appear quite probable, because there is a fact which speaks strongly against this point of view, *i.e.* the *Hand* takes every born (not only the firstborn) creature. Or is this a dim relic of some form of old belief?

The second incident is frequent in the Supernatural Birth stories: the wife is given a meal, of which also some house animals partake; the wife then has a child, the bitch has a puppy, and the mare a foal; the wonderchild and the animals are a continuation (or rebirth) of the being incarnated in the meal (and so the animals become his brothers).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Was it, perhaps, to explain some such name as the Gaulish *Epona*?

<sup>10</sup> *Vide* E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, pp. 24 ff.



In Ireland Supernatural Birth stories are very frequent; usually a girl swallows a small animal, which is then reborn as the respective hero or heroine (Conchobar, Conall Cernach, Cúchulainn, Étaín). In the story about Cúchulainn's conception we find, however, the version that in a certain mysterious house a child was born on the same night as two foals. Dechtire adopted the boy, and the foals were given to him (I.T. i. 138 *dobert som na lúrchuiriu do macslabri don macc*). The boy died, however, very soon, but he was reborn to Dechtire as Cúchulainn, the incarnation of Lug (I.T. i. 139). This rebirth of the foster-son is only a doublet of the first event, and we are right in assuming that the *Compert Conculaind* in L.U. is a contamination of two similar stories. According to one story Cúchulainn had a horse, or two horses, which were of the same origin as himself (I think that these horses are identical with Cúchulainn's horses, which are really represented as supernatural beings); according to another story there was no mention of the horses, and so there were tales "how Cúchulainn got his horses." These supernatural birth stories, as represented in Irish, seem sometimes to make a compromise, according to which the child has a nominal human father (whose name the child bears), but the real father is the higher being whose incarnation the child is. These ideas of conception presuppose a very primitive civilisation, such as we find to-day among the Arunta people of central Australia, according to whose ideas the conception is due to an ancestral spirit entering into the woman; when the child is born he is a reincarnation of that ancestral spirit.

Both the last-mentioned motives, especially the last, occur in Mabinogi in a very strange context, and we do not see the reason why they have been introduced. One might, of course, suppose that there was a story of a taboo-breaking woman, and that this story sometimes continued the story of removed barrenness, the taboo-breaking woman being bereft of her child. There was here a possibility of



confusion with tales having the Mysterious Hand as the leading motive. This confusion would in our case result in the following way: The Mysterious Hand remained as the leading motive, but there were introduced important motives from other cycles: the smearing of Rhiannon's face with blood and the accusation of cannibalism (her proposed punishment, cf. Abandoned Wife) and the introduction (cf. Removed Barrenness) contributed only some inorganic details. But are we justified in such a theory? We have, no doubt, good reasons to believe that there were in Wales cycles of the Mysterious Hand, Abandoned Wife, etc., but we have no proof that the motive of the female taboo-breaker was introduced by the motive of removed barrenness.

Now, there is another possibility, *i.e.* that at least some of these stories were applied to Rhiannon, and that the compiler of Mabinogi knew different stories about one and the same event (in one case the birth of Pryderi), and that he aimed at reconciling the different versions by combining one with another. It seems to me highly probable that the story of the imputed cannibalism was introduced to explain why Rhiannon was once degraded to a mule or donkey. Is it impossible that there existed still another tale about Pryderi's birth? It would presuppose that either Pwyll was not the real father of Pryderi, the latter being a reincarnation of some "divinity" (or rather some equivalent of *Ir. síde*), or that this divinity was Pwyll himself (and that Pryderi had another human father, and the name of this mortal father in later times gave way to that of the "divine" father, both personalities having been confused). Or, finally, there may have been different tales about Pryderi's birth and different tales about Pwyll, according to which the whole character of the various persons was differently represented. Now it is possible that Pryderi himself was in older tales represented as an incarnation of some spirit, for this would account for the fact that Pryderi



is in Old Welsh poems brought in close relation with Annwvn. To explain such an incarnation a story of removed barrenness or rather some such incident as that found in *Compert Conculaind* might have been invented. Beside such a story there existed another pedigree explaining Pryderi's birth in some more natural way, and this tradition naturally prevailed in later times. I give here this possibility as a presumption which seems to me a most probable one, but I am quite well aware that it is only a suggestion; if I am, however, not right it must be at least acknowledged that two motives relating to Removed Barrenness and Supernatural Birth have been introduced into Rhiannon's story.

*Pryderi's* name is in Mabinogi explained as derived from *pryder* "angor," and the motive of the Abandoned (Calumniated) Wife may have been possibly introduced to explain why such a name was given to Pwyll's son. This cannot be, however, an original form of the story, because all such etiological stories presuppose the name. The original meaning of the name does not seem to me to be that of "angor"; anyhow, it is a derivative from the root \**qrt*... which appears in Ir. *cruth*, Cy. *pryd*, "form, aspect," and in the Old Welsh name of Britain, *Prydain*, and the Ir. name of the Picts, *Cruithne*. Now the name of the British heros eponymos<sup>11</sup> *Prydain* is obviously invented to explain the name of the country. But this personage is unknown in old sagas, and so it seems possible that *Pryderi* is the original heros eponymos of the race which gave the name to the island.

<sup>11</sup> R.B. Mabinogion, p. 309: *Kyntaf enw a vu ar yr ynys honn, kynn noe chael nae chyvanhedu Clas Myrdin a gwedy y chael a ae chyvanhedu y Vel Ynys a gwedy y goresgynn o Brydein vab Aed Mawr, y dodet arnei Ynys Prydein* (cf. Iolo MSS., p. 1-2, *llyma 'r enwau a fu ar yr ynys hon: cyn no'i chyfaneddu, sef Clâs Merddin, a chweddi dyfod o rai Cymryiddi y gelwid hi'r Fel ynys... a phan wybu Aedd Mawr (lege Prydain) am hynny a theged gwlaed ydoedd, efe a roddes wŷr a moddion i oresgyn y Fel ynys a hynny a wnaeth efe a'i galw yn ol ei enw ei hun Prydain.*



On the other hand, according to old poems, Pryderi is in close relation to the Underworld (*e.g.* Skene, ii. 155, 181), and this fact would again agree with Caesar's words: *Galli se omnes a Dite patre prognatos praedicant*. It seems to me that the Gauls derived their origin from the Otherworld (the person of the Otherworld's king differed probably in various districts), but we cannot conclude that the Celtic "*Dispater*" or any other divinity was a god in the Roman or classical sense.

*D. Gwri Wallt Euryn and Mabon vap Modron.*

Pryderi's original name was Gwri Wallt Euryn; now Mr. W. J. Gruffydd (R.C. xxxiii. pp. 452 ff.) has attempted to prove that Gwri is identical with Mabon vap Modron (but Gwri and Pryderi were—according to his theory—two different persons), and later (*The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, Session 1912-13, pp. 65 ff.) he would see in the first branch of Mabinogion a transformation of a Gaelic story identical with that of Mongán.

We will discuss the first theory first: Pryderi, according to Mr. Gruffydd, has sometimes taken the rôle of Gwri; now Mr. Gruffydd argues that Pryderi's imprisonment (in Mab. Manawyddan) is identical with that of Mabon. This imprisonment was, however, quite another matter, because Pryderi (or, as Mr. Gruffydd thinks, Gwri) was imprisoned in his later years and Mabon was stolen as an infant, and since that time nobody heard anything of him (cf. W.B. fol. 281 c, *Mabon mab Modron a ducpwyd yn teirnossic y wrth y vam, ny wys py tu y mae na pheth yw ae byw ae marw*), and so we must suppose that he was imprisoned during some centuries; further, he was imprisoned in a horrible prison (he says, R.B. fol. 836: *Oia wr, yssit le idaw y gwynaw y neb yssyd yma... ac ny charcharwyd neb kyndosted yn llwrw carchar a mi na charchar Llund Llaw Ereint neu garchar Greit mab Eri*). The themes of stealing the child



(i.e. The Mysterious Hand, etc.) and the imprisonment motive arise (thus, as we find them in Mabinogi) out of two independent motives, and they occur in two different stories. According to the investigations of Sir E. Anwyl they are of different local origin. The imprisonment motive, as it occurs in the third branch of the Mabinogi, goes back to the following formula: the hero is brought to a magical castle, he touches a thing which he ought not to, and he is imprisoned. This motive occurs very often in *the Quest of the Water of Life* or *the Magic Bird*. We know from the folk-tales that it is forbidden to take anything from the land of the fairies (unless, of course, the land is conquered). From the Irish stories we know of magical castles where people are imprisoned by merely sitting down there, as in *Bruidhen Chaorthainn*. And so we must conclude that Pryderi's imprisonment belongs to this motive.<sup>12</sup> But this cannot be proved of Mabon. It might be, however, probable of Gweir, because we read in the Book of Taliessin (Skene, ii. 181):

*Bu kyweir karchar Gweir yg Kaer Sidi  
Trwy ebostol Pwyll a Phryderi*

. . . . .  
*Yr gadwyn tromlas kywirwas ae ketwi  
A rac preideu Annwyn tost yt geni.*

Here Pryderi seems to be the Lord of Annwn, and Gweir was probably captured while trying to get some of the Underworld jewels, as he is represented bound in heavy chains before the spoils of the Underworld. This *Caer Sidi*

<sup>12</sup> The *Mabinogi Manawyddan vab Llyr* is a contamination of three different cycles:

Cycle I. has the following motives: (1) Devastation of Dyved and Mystic Fog, (2) Watching the Field (\*the first two fail and are probably imprisoned (?); the third succeeds and rescues the first two).

Cycle II. (1) Hunting; Mystic Fog and coming to the Magic Castle, (2) tabooed objects which are not to be touched, resulting in imprisonment of the taboo-breaker.

Cycle III. Manawyddan as an excellent craftsman in Lloegr.



has already been identified by the late Sir E. Anwyl (Z.C. ii. 130) with the magic castle where Pryderi was imprisoned, but I do not suppose that we must necessarily identify these two places, because there were different local Otherworlds;<sup>13</sup> it seems, however, to me most certain that Gweir's imprisonment was something of the same kind as Pryderi's. Can we now presuppose something of the same kind about Mabon? I think not: we know of him that he was stolen from his mother, and after this time nothing was known of him till he was found in a horrible prison. This prison was in *Caer Loyw* (R.B. 836), and this tale might be consequently (but not necessarily) localised in *Caer Loyw*. Now, according to Sir E. Anwyl (C.Z. iii. 127) *Gwri Wallt Euryn* was a local hero of Gloucester, and so one could only suppose that both tales (that of Mabon and that of *Gwri*) have risen in the same locality; but if we accept the identity of *Gwri* and Mabon, we have to presume that the story told about Pryderi was originally told about *Gwri*,<sup>14</sup> and we must accept then that both the birth and the imprisonment story related originally to *Gwri Wallt Euryn*, and what would remain then for Pryderi? Nothing at all, And yet Mr. Gruffydd postulates that Pryderi was originally a son of an immortal being who took possession of him [third night]. But in this case the kidnapping of the infant would be quite otherwise represented than the rape of Mabon (and of course that of Pryderi). These theories are simply contradictory, and consequently one of them at least is wrong, and, anticipating the later arguments, I may say that the identification with *Mongán's* story is not only improbable, but it is, from the point of view of method, hopelessly wild. But to return to the first part of this theory: the greater part is hypothetical; neither do we

<sup>13</sup> See also Sir E. Anwyl, *Celtic Religion*, p. 62.

<sup>14</sup> In favour of this point of view we draw attention to the fact that Pryderi is not likely to be a prisoner in an Otherworld, being in old poems represented as its king.



know how Pryderi comes into this story if all about him refers to Gwri Wallt Euryn. Further, Mr. Gruffydd has not taken account of the results of Sir E. Anwyl's work, where he has proved that in the Mabinogi different local traditions have been contaminated. Owing to this compilatory character of the Mabinogi, we must be very careful in identifying different persons, and, what is more, in reconstructing their original story, because there is always the possibility that one motive belonged originally to one person and the other to another. Now Sir E. Anwyl has made it probable that, in some parts of Dyfed, Pwyll was considered as father to Pryderi, but in the districts near Gwent, Teyrnnon (O. Gaulish \**Tigernonos*) passed for his father, and that Gwri Wallt Euryn belongs to the Gloucester tradition; this proves clearly enough that there have been fused together traditions of different local origin. May we now say that these persons were of similar character, and that they were therefore confused? This is, of course, possible, but we can hardly presuppose that the original stories of these persons were the same. We have shown that in the Mabinogi of Pwyll heterogeneous cycles of motives have been confused. Now it remains to be decided when these motives came to be applied to the persons in question. Without further proof we cannot argue that all the respective motives were already associated in pagan times, for example, with Pryderi or Rhiannon. The motives reflect only the old pagan belief in charms, in the Otherworld, and in supernatural beings who stole living creatures, but that is all. Some of these stories may be very old, in so far as they agree with the old poems, though even these may not represent the remotest antiquity.

#### *E. The Origins of the Mabinogi Tales.*

There is, however, still another problem as to whether these motives are native or whether they are not due to a foreign influence. This would naturally be an Irish



influence. Mr. Gruffydd endeavours to prove that Pryderi's birth-story is identical with the Irish story of Mongán, and he is inclined to regard the Mabinogi as of Gaelic origin. If what he tries to prove were true, then his theory would be very well founded, but I am afraid it is not true.

Mongán's story is as follows: Manannán agrees to fight for the King Fiachna on the condition that he shall be allowed to sleep in his (Fiachna's) shape with the King's wife. This done, he actually does fight for him. Manannán's son is Mongán, and Manannán carries him off when he is three days old. There are here similar motives:

- (i) Exchange of shapes.
- (ii) Fighting in the other's stead.
- (iii) The carrying off of the child.

But these motives are either not quite identical or they are differently arranged, and, moreover, it is of great importance that we have in Irish much closer parallels to single motives in the Mabinogi than those which Mr. Gruffydd uses. To get an archetype identical with the Irish story of Mongán, Mr. Gruffydd postulates that in the original story Pwyll was a supernatural being and Arawn a human one; he thinks that only an "Immortal" can help the "Mortal," and he finds support for this suggestion in the account of the combat at the ford (R.B. 713, W.B. fo. 172 c), where Pwyll is alluded to as "the man who was in Arawn's place" (*y gwr a oed yn lle Arawn*). Mr. Gruffydd argues that this passage speaks about Pwyll as a mysterious stranger. But these words do not convey any other idea than that it was not Arawn himself. Now, there are really instances which prove that a man can give help to an "Immortal":

(a) Cuchulinn is asked to help the *síde*.

The people of the *fiana* often help the *síde*.

The fairies require the help of a man in playing ball against other fairies.



(b) Human heroes being able to destroy the *síde*,<sup>15</sup> a human being is consequently able to give aid to the Otherworld.

(c) [The man can help the gods or fairies in other ways. Gods really need the offerings of the people, and so do also the fairies who are, according to Irish folk-lore, entitled to spilled milk. The fairies are grateful when a hero aids their child (so, for example, in South Slav. Prince Marco and a Fairy).

And, finally, the limits between the Human and the Superhuman are never strictly defined to the primitive imagination. Superhuman beings are only superior to men through their higher knowledge of magic, and if any mortal can acquire this knowledge he can rise to the same rank as the "immortals." A man can be immortal so long as he has the water of life, or so long as his soul is hidden (*vide* the Egyptian tale of Anpu and Bata, Flinders Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, ii. 36 ff.). The gods are jealous of their superior knowledge, so *e.g.* Toth felt very much offended when Ahura had got his magical book (Flinders Petrie, *ibid.* 89 ff.). Jehovah was afraid that man would be as one of the gods if he partook of the fatal fruits.] All these instances show that Mr. Gruffydd's presumption is not proved at all.

The motive of Pwyll's chaste intercourse is naturally, according to Mr. Gruffydd's theory, a later alteration, due to the later *redactors* who were shocked that Pwyll should have a real intercourse with Arawn's wife. But why did not the *redactors* suppress all the "very shocking" scenes

<sup>15</sup> So the Connacht people destroyed the *síd* of *Cruachan* (see *Echtra Nerai*). In British folklore we have some similar instances, as *Child Roland*.



of the fourth Branch of the Mabinogi, where Gwydyon and Gilwaethwy pay very scandalous attention to Goewin, and where Arianrod is represented like an adventuress in a French love-story? I do not think that the *redactors* were so scrupulous as Mr. Gruffydd would have us believe. Of course, Arawn did expect that Pryderi would be less abstinent than he was, but this feature is not isolated in folklore. We know that Siegfried was also not supposed to pay merely platonic attentions to Brunhild, and for this calumny he had to pay dearly. In the Twin Brothers' story the same motive occurs. There can, of course, be no doubt that there had existed another shape-shifting motive in which the man (or woman) takes another shape to get access to the object of his admiration. So Arthur's father, Uther Penn Dragon (through Merlin's aid) came in the Duke of Din-dagwl's shape to the Duchess of Din-dagwl.<sup>16</sup> The story of Mongán belongs, of course, to the same group. It is, however, of importance that Mongán belongs to the Christian era, and so we must presuppose that some older tradition was applied to him. (We have many instances of the exchange of one person for another, so *e.g.* a story told in north Ireland (Donegal) about Cúchulainn is told in the south about Fionn mac Cumhail.) It is further to be noticed that Alexander the Great's birth story also has many motives similar to those of the Irish tale, so *e.g.* both Olympias and Philip are told that a supernatural being wishes to enter into union with Olympias, and Philip, on another day, is satisfied to hear from the expounder of dreams that the child to whom his wife Olympias is about to give birth is the son of the god Ammon. The fact that such a story existed, both in Wales and Ireland, does not, however, prove that the Mabinogi of Pwyll must be originally of the same kind; against this point of view

<sup>16</sup> Cf. further: Signy, Wolsung's daughter, wishing to have a son of entire Wolsung's blood, exchanged her shape with some magician, and slept in her shape with her own brother, Sigmund (Volsunga saga).



we must put the fact that we have more than one instance of this other motive, and so we must acknowledge that the first part of the Mabinogi of Pwyll, as it is, represents a *Mährchen* for itself.

It may, however, be objected that I myself have presupposed a Supernatural Birth story for the second part, but I said only that some supernatural birth story has affected this second part of the first branch of the Mabinogi; whether *this* supernatural birth was really analogous to the Mongán story we cannot tell. We cannot, of course, exclude the possibility that Pryderi himself may have had, according to some local tradition, a supernatural origin, but we cannot tell of what kind it was; the motives which point to Pryderi's supernatural birth occur always in stories different from the Mongán type (*e.g.* the wife takes some magical remedy, or she swallows the incarnation of some supernatural being).

Mr. Gruffydd finally identifies the kidnapping of the young Pryderi with the carrying off of Mongán by Manannán. But in the Welsh story the child is taken by a being which used to take also other beings besides children, and so the only way would be to presuppose that the Mysterious Hand motive was developed from the motive in which the supernatural father takes his son with him. Such a motive we find in some combinations of the Mysterious Hand with Amor and Psyche motives (*vide supra*), but this motive does not seem to be there in its right place. And so there is only the one way to explain the origin of the Mysterious Hand. The being stealing the children and young beasts is apparently of the same character and nature as other beings which demand the child from their parents for themselves—these beings play the prominent *rôle* in the Child's Sacrifice-Motives; now, some of these motives are closely connected with that of *Removed Barrenness*, so, *e.g.* in the *Aitareya Brahmana*: Harischandra prays to Varuna for a son, promising to offer the child as a sacrifice to the



god, and after the child's birth he seeks to evade the promise. This seems to point to a primitive custom of sacrificing a first-born child in cases where barrenness had been removed. We know, besides, that the Irish sacrificed the firstlings of every issue, and the chief scions of every clan were offered to Cromm Cruach (*R.C.* xvi. 35); the church preached against the slaying of the yoke oxen and milk-cows and burning of the first-born progeny; the same custom is reflected also in the story that the Fomori required a third of children, corn and milk (*Lebor Gabála*). It is consequently possible that the Mysterious Hand motive may have developed out of such an old belief, the Mysterious Hand belonging—as we can gather from the Modern Gaelic stories—to a giant (Scotch Gael. *famhair*) who took the rôle of the old Fomorian. In favour of this explanation we may mention the fact that in the first branch of the Mabinogi there are really traces of the Removed Barrenness Cycle, which so often occurs in association with the Child's sacrifice. [Therefore, I cannot quite agree with Prof. Kittredge's suggestion that in the Mabinogi originally three children were stolen, the first two incidents having been suppressed in order to render the Calumniated Woman continuation feasible. This suggestion is unnecessary, because the Calumniated Woman is also sometimes bereft of three children, as is also the case in the female Taboo-breaker motive.] There is, however, the *Grendel* motive to be considered: here the monster does not steal any children, and yet he appears in the same way. We have then to accept that it was probably assumed that the first-born son, in a case of removed barrenness, was forfeited to some horrible monster closely related to the cannibals of the folk-tales (where the main objects of cannibal attacks are especially the children). In such tales the cannibals are sometimes supernatural beings, and possibly their character may have risen—at least partly—from the human sacrifices, and so we must not be



surprised if we find that not only the first-born but every child is stolen by a giant. I make this suggestion, however, only as a possibility.

The fact that Mongán, when three nights old, was taken by his father Manannán to fairyland might reflect a similar idea: the child considered as a god's son belongs to the god (in the Removed Barrenness motive the child was also believed to be god's gift); this would, however, imply a slightly different motive, *i.e.* a *Supernatural Birth*, of which we have found some traces in the first branch of the Mabinogi; in such supernatural birth stories the child remains with the human parents, but if we admit that the child is sometimes really taken from them (not given to fosterage), we have to account for the change of such a Mongán story into one of the Mabinogi type. In the Mongán tale we have no traces of such savage ideas (as human sacrifice), and it is most improbable that in the archetype of this tale there ever was anything of this kind; how shall we, then, explain the fact that the supposed Welsh deterioration of the Irish tale has preserved the older, more savage, feature, *i.e.* the monster stealing the children? or shall we ascribe it to the "monkish redactor" who guessed our modern theories? I hardly think so.

The same difficulties appear in Mr. Gruffydd's association (*ibid.* pp. 20ff.) of the tale of Llew Llawgyffes (R.B. 763ff.; W.B. fo. 195d ff.) with Ir. *Aided Conroí*, which presupposes a common origin for these two tales. If these words were to mean that this common origin goes back to a very remote period, there would be little difficulty, but Mr. Gruffydd thinks that the Irish story is the original one, and he argues that the identities of both stories prove the Gaelic origin of the Mabinogion. But unfortunately there are not only similarities in both tales, there are also great divergences.

The main divergence is that the Irish tale had originally an *External Soul* motive (*Ériu*, vii. pp. 200 ff.), of which the



Welsh story has no unmistakable traces; here the hero (Llew) is invulnerable except with a certain weapon and in a certain position. This magic weapon might be perhaps a remnant of an external soul motive: in Irish story Cúrói's sword is a necessary instrument for destroying Cúrói's soul, because it is his own sword. It would be only natural then if the slaying power of the sword were explained, not as a possession of the hero who is to be killed, but as a supernatural quality of the sword itself, and so it is possible that in this way the story-teller came to evolve the idea of a magical weapon. There is, however, still another motive which does not occur in the External Soul theme: the hero can be slain only under certain conditions; otherwise he is deathless: Llew cannot be killed either within a house or without; he cannot be slain on horseback or on foot (R.B. 705, W.B. fo. 196 d: *Ny ellir vy llad i y mywn ty... ny ellir allan, ny ellir vy llad ar varch ny ellir ar vyn troed*). The words are a formula intended to mean: he cannot be killed at all and a situation is invented which satisfies this formula. This motive that somebody is cunning enough to avoid difficulties comprised in some regulation intended to be incapable of being performed is common enough. A lord gives an order to his peasant subject that his (*i.e.* the peasant's) daughter shall come to him neither riding nor going (on foot); the daughter comes walking on one foot and the other leg on the back of a goat. (It is very significant that Llew has to put one foot upon a buck.)

Another example of this motive we find in the Mahābhārata (18.43.2434): Indra made friends with Namuci, and promised not to slay him with wet nor dry, in the day nor in the night. One day Indra beheld a fog, and cut off the head of Namuci with foam of water. We see that in such stories only the negative form is given; the method of evading the formula is to be found by the opponent, and so I suppose that originally Llew himself said only the



negative part of the formula: the situation in which he could be slain was invented either by his wife Blodeuwedd or by Gronw Pebyr. [The reason why Llew says the positive part of the formula as well may be confusion with the Separate Soul Cycle, where the giant himself says how he can be slain.]

The fabrication of the magical spear may reflect some traces of an old belief in the childhood of mankind that every new and better weapon was a magical one; metal weapons were of course regarded with great awe, and their fabrication was naturally considered as a magical performance; a trace of this creed is found in the belief that blacksmiths are cunning people who can perform magical things,<sup>17</sup> so we find in St. Patrick's prayer, vv. 48, 54:

*Tocuiriuir etrum . . . inna huli nert so*

*fri brichtu ban oculus gobann oculus druad.*

"I summon all these powers between me [and these]  
... against the spells of women, blacksmiths and  
druids."

In modern Japan the fabrication of a sword is a religious performance.

The other main difference from the *Aided Conroï* is the fact that Llew was not yet killed: he was only transformed into an eagle (R.B. 766, W.B. 197 ab: *Ac ar gwenwyn wayw y vwrw ay vedru yn y ystlys yny neita y paladyr o honaw a thrigyaw y penn yndaw. Ac yna bwrw elhvan o honaw ynteu yn rith eryr a dodi garymleis anhygar. Ac ny चाहत y welet o hynny allan*). There are two possibilities: either Gronw has made some mistake or Llew was really killed. Now Mabinogion does not mention any mistake, and so we should expect that Llew was really killed; if we find that he was transformed, this agrees with primitive ideas

<sup>17</sup> E.g. Vulcan's maidens; a smith makes a living stag, etc. (*Vide* M'Dougall, *Folk-Tales*, 16 ff.).



according to which death and life are not so strictly separated one from another as in our modern ideas: the dead man is not really dead; he could live again. This old belief is reflected in many motives, one group of which is the most important for us, *i.e.* the dead takes the form of an animal or a plant (M'Culloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, pp. 108 ff.); this group is connected with the old belief that the dead man assumes the shape of his clan totem. In our case the question is still simpler, as Llew is transformed into an eagle, and the soul has, according to the wide-spread belief, a bird's shape. The rest is only a logical consequence of this belief: if the dead continues living in another shape, there must exist some means to restore his original shape and he can live again. Usually the relatives and friends of the dead know what to do, and this of course is known also to Gwydyon, who in this episode plays the rôle of the relative, for he strikes Llew with his magic wand to restore his form (R.B. 768, *Ac yna y trewis Gwydyon a hutlath ynteu yny vyd yn y rith e hunan*). This results from Gwydyon's general magic nature (cf. Skene, ii. 302, *Neu Llew a Gwydyon a vuant gelvydyon | neu a wdant lyvyryon?* "Or Llew and Gwydyon were they creators (artists), or did they know books?") So in a Basuto tale: a girl is devoured but her heart escapes *as a bird*, and when the wings are pulled off the girl assumes again her own shape. We might define this belief as follows: the dead gets only another *hamr* (skin), and it is his rescuer's task to get this *hamr* off.

It is worth while considering the tales in which this motive occurs; it is either the dead mother who takes the shape of some animal (Cinderella motive) or a slain person seeks his revenge on his murderers (jealous sisters or cruel stepmother), or, finally, a woman is transformed by another woman who seeks to take her place. This motive is rarely connected with the motive of the *Treacherous Wife*, and yet we have a very old instance of this combination,



viz. the Egyptian story of *Anpu and Bata* (Flinders Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, ii. pp. 49 ff.): Bata took his heart (*i.e.* soul) out of his body and hid it in the flowers of an acacia tree. He told his brother Anpu that his (Bata's) death would be revealed to him by a "life token," and if this happened Anpu must come and search for his soul. They now took leave of each other, and Bata lived in the valley of the acacia. Once he met the Nine Gods, "and Ra Harakti said to Khnumu: 'Behold, frame thou a woman for Bata that he may not remain alive alone.' And Khnumu made for him a mate to dwell with him. She was more beautiful in her limbs than any woman who is in this land. The essence of every god was in her. The seven Hathors came to see her: they said with one mouth, 'She will die a sharp death.'" Bata lived happily with his wife, and told her of the secret of his life. A lock of her hair was carried down the river and taken to the Pharaoh, who bade to be made a search for its owner.<sup>18</sup> When found, she became Pharaoh's wife, and desired the acacia tree to be cut down. This done, Bata died, but his brother found his heart and restored it to the dead, and Bata "became as he had been." After this Bata transformed himself into an Apis bull, which his unfaithful wife caused to be killed. Two drops of the blood fell on either side of the door, and from them grew up two persea trees; she ordered them to be cut down, but a splinter flew into her mouth, and Bata was in due time reborn as Pharaoh's son, and as he became the king his mother (*i.e.* Bata's treacherous wife) was brought before him, "and he judged with her before him, and they agreed with him" (*i.e.* probably she met "a sharp death"). Professor Flinders Petrie remarks of this story:<sup>19</sup> "The

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Isolda's hair is brought to King Marc, and he desires to marry the owner of this hair.

<sup>19</sup> M'Culloch (*The Rel. of Anc. Celts*, 108) has already observed the identity of Llew's tale with the Egyptian. But he did not compare both stories; according to his opinion there is no "Separable Soul" motive (but see his *Childhood of Fiction*, p. 142 f.).



sudden death of Bata so soon as the depository of his soul was destroyed is a usual feature in such tales about souls. But it is only in the Indian tale quoted by Mr. Frazer that there is any revival of the dead, and in no case is there any transformation like that of Bata." Now in our Welsh tale we have an instance of such a transformation, and the main frame of the story agrees more with the Egyptian version than with the Irish: in both versions the wife is made for the hero. (In the Irish version we have nothing of this kind, but the wife is kidnapped by Cúroi, and has therefore good reasons to hate him; her rescuer Cúchulainn is at first beaten.) In both tales the husband is transformed into an animal and takes his revenge personally on the faithless wife. (In the Irish, Cúroi's soul being totally destroyed, there is no possibility of his revival.)

Professor Flinders Petrie calls this tale a "patch-work," and it really seems as if there were two different *motives* mixed together, *i.e.* the "Separable Soul" and the "Shapeshifting of the Dead." If, now, in the Welsh story the "Separable Soul" motive had once a more important *rôle* than we find in the present version, it would be an extraordinary coincidence with the Egyptian tale; if there was no such motive it is the less similar to the Irish tale, and so the theory of the Goidelic origin of this tale proves to be quite improbable. I will not deny the Gaelic influence; but this does not yet imply that most of the Mabinogi stories are of Gaelic origin. The influence of Gaelic on Welsh is surely sometimes overrated, and philological researches prove that the influence of Brythonic on Gaelic was much greater than *vice versa*, and we find in Irish a great number of Brythonic loanwords (see Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, § 24).<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> It is very important for our purpose that Cúchulainn's first name, *Setanta*, seems to be of Brythonic origin (cf. Brit. *Setantioi*; old *Setantios* would give in Ir. \**Seθaide*, spelt \**Sethaite*). If this name is of Brythonic origin it must have come to Ireland after the time of lenition and assimilation *nt > d*.



In prehistoric times there were probably some Brythonic races in Ireland, and in later Christian times there was a great influx of Welsh students into Ireland, and so we must never forget that British folklore and traditions might also have influenced the Irish.

There is, however, a possibility of quite foreign influences, and this is far more important. We can never totally exclude the possibility of some Mediterranean culture elements influencing the insular culture. Archaeology proves only that Celtic art had absorbed some Mediterranean ornaments, etc., but we know that there was a commercial contact between the Mediterranean and the isles, and by this way some motives might have come to Britain already in prehistoric times. I think that the above discussed Llew story might have had such an origin. I will not argue that the Irish story is of foreign origin, but in Welsh the curious combination of motives, which is so similar to the Egyptian, puzzles me. But this part of the Bata story is, according to Professor Flinders Petrie (*l.c.*) of Asiatic and not of Egyptian origin.

It might be also of some interest to compare the Irish story of Étaín's kidnapping and the Pāli Jātaka, No. 327. The Irish story has preserved much better the original features: King Eochaid Airem lost a game (in chess) against the fairy King Mider, and Mider was entitled to name the stake, and he demanded Eochaid's wife Étaín, whom later he carried off. It is important that he eloped as a bird. In the Jātaka the King of Garuḍas (bird-demons) used to come to the King of Benares and play dice with him; he fell in love with the queen, whom he carried off. The king's poet, hidden in the Garuḍa-King's feathers, was carried to the palace of the queen. In the Irish story it is one of Eochaid's druids who finds Étaín.

Now in the Pāli tale the dice-playing is not explained; the Irish gives a good explanation for it; but, as regards the origin of this motive, I should rather think that it is



not Irish; it is further very significant that also the first life of Étaín "has some unique features, as it alone among Western *Mährchen* saga variants of the 'True Bride' describes the malicious woman as the wife of Mider. In other words, the story implies polygamy, rarely found in European Folk Tales" (M'Culloch, *The Religion of Ancient Celts*, p. 83, note 2). Our Jātaka story is referred to in another part of the Jātakas as an example of woman's infidelity; Étaín is not directly described in the same way, but her conduct towards Ailill Anglonnach cannot be regarded by any means as a pattern of wifely chastity.

I am far from considering that these facts are a real proof of Oriental origin for the Étaín story, but they are remarkable enough to be worth considering in connection with this possibility.

JOSEF BAUDIŠ.





# CATALOGUE OF BRAND MATERIAL.

(Continued from Vol. XXVI., p. 388.)

## HOLY WEEK.

### ENGLAND.

*Preparations for Easter begun.*

LOCALITY.

- " Jolly lads " (morris-dancers) and  
" Pace-egggers " (players) begin  
to collect eggs and money - Lancs. (The Fylde).  
" Pace-egggers " perform from Mon-  
day to Thursday - - - *Ibid* (Blackburn).

## MAUNDY THURSDAY.

### ENGLAND.

#### I. *Names.*

- Shere Thursday (obs.).  
Bloody Thursday - - - Northumberland, Yorks.

#### II. *Observances.*

- Children act driving away herrings Westmoreland (Kendal,  
1850).  
Children beg for eggs and bacon<sup>1</sup> Oxon. (Blechington,  
Weston, Charlton, etc.,  
1686).  
Washing the Altars (obs.).  
Washing the feet of the Poor (obs.).  
Almsgiving :  
" The King's Maundy " - -  
Dole to children - - - Exeter Cathedral (1826).

<sup>1</sup> Their rhyme :

" Herrings, herrings white and red,  
Ten a penny! Lent is dead!"



Parochial Love-Feast of Reconciliation - - - - -	LOCALITY. St. Clement's, East- cheap (1491, 1691).
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## WALES.

I. *Natural Phenomena.*

Unnecessary work might be punished by lightning - - - - -	South Wales.
Important to do good on this day - - -	South Wales.
Schoolboys set up a target and pelted it with pebbles - - - - -	South Wales.

## SCOTLAND.

II. *Observances.*

A man waded into the sea at midnight and prayed for much kelp (for manure) - - - - -	Hebrides (?)
Porridge was poured into the sea for the same purpose - - -	Hebrides (?)

## IRELAND.

*Name.*

" Cropping Thursday " (men had their hair cut before Easter) -	Leitrim.
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## GOOD FRIDAY.

## ENGLAND.

I. *Natural Phenomena.*

Rain on, affects crops - - -	Devon, Hereford, etc.
Snow on, causes snow in May -	Salop (Oswestry).
Parsley sown on, will prosper -	Cheshire.
"    "    will last all the year - - -	Surrey, Devon, all East Anglia.
"    "    will not come double otherwise - - -	Worc., Surrey, Suffolk.
Stocks sown will come double -	Worc. (Alvechurch).
Beans sown will prosper - - -	Worc., Devon.
Pease will " grow goody " - - -	Devon.
An egg laid on, keeps good and cures colic - - - - -	Suffolk.



	LOCALITY.
An egg laid on, brings luck to poultry - - - - -	South Northants.
An egg laid on, extinguishes fire -	Devon (P.H. Ditchfield).
An egg laid on, lucky, especially to gamesters - - - - -	(Tylor).
Rooks do not build on - - -	Cheshire, Staffs.
Pigs cannot die on - - -	Devon (Torrington).
Persons born on, cannot be frightened - - - - -	Lincs.
Persons born on, will know a murderer on seeing one - -	Sheffield.
Courting on, unlucky - - -	Lancs. (some parts).
Visions of future husbands procurable - - - - -	Derbyshire.
Game-laws supposed to be in abeyance - - - - -	Lincolnshire.
Silver offered on, made into ring, cures fits - - - - -	Staffs.
Sewing done on, will never come undone - - - - -	Salop.
Bread baked on, never becomes mouldy - - -	General.
("if properly made") -	Suffolk.
"    " will cure any ailment - - -	Dorset, Cornwall, Monmouth, Sussex.
(if it fails, all else is useless) -	West Worc.
"    " will cure internal troubles - - -	Glos. (St. Briavel's), Worc.
"    " will cure diarrhoea -	Devon, Notts., Salop, Suffolk, Yorks., Worc., and General.
"    " will cure whooping-cough -	Kent.
"    " prevents whooping-cough -	Lancs.
"    " cures cattle also -	Cornwall.
"    " as a poultice is good for wens -	Hereford.
"    " as a talisman prevents shipwreck -	Sunderland.
"    " as a talisman makes other bread keep -	Dorset.



		LOCALITY.
Bread baked on, as a talisman	protects against sickness - -	Cheshire, N. Staffs. (Standon).
„ „	as a talisman protects against evil spirits -	South Staffs.
„ „	as a talisman protects the house from evil - -	Worc. (Armscote).
„ „	as a talisman protects the house from fire - -	London (Hone).
„ „	eaten same day secures year's prosperity -	N. Yorks. (1753).
„ „	divided between two friends secures friendship	Cornwall.

## II. *General Observances.*

### (a) Things Forbidden or Unlucky.

Work done will have to be done again - - -	Norfolk.
Accidents follow work done -	Scarborough.
Sea-fishing unlucky - - -	S. Devon fishermen.
Working in lead-mine unlucky	(? locality).
Cutting the hair unlucky -	Sheffield.
Courting unlucky : punished by "rough music" - -	Lancashire.
Smiths refuse to light fire -	Northumberland.
„ „ work at all	Durham, Lincs.
Unlucky to work a team of horses - -	Herefsh., Sheffield.
„ disturb the earth	Yorkshire.
„ sew : "it pricks the heart of the Saviour"	Staffs. (Stone).
Unlucky to wash clothes : they will be found spotted with blood - - -	Staffs. (Stone), Cleveland, (Whitby), Sheffield.
Unlucky to wash clothes : the suds will turn to blood	Berks., Herefsh., Worc.
Also any suds in the house - - -	Worc.



Unlucky to wash clothes : there will be a death in the family - - - -	LOCALITY. Devon.
Unlucky to wash clothes : the washer will be cursed -	Glos. (St. Briavel's), Nor- folk. <sup>1</sup>
(b) Things Lucky or Desirable.	
To bake bread or cakes <sup>2</sup> (see above) - - - -	Universal, <i>except by some in Norfolk.</i>
To break crockery. (Cf. Shrovetide) - - - -	Devon.
It is a lucky day on which : To till and sow gardens -	Universal, <i>except in York- shire.</i>
Especially to sow parsley, peas and beans - - -	(See I. above.)
To set potatoes - - -	Worc. (Armscote).
(It is unlucky to do so earlier) - - - -	West Worc.
To transplant shrubs -	Devon.
To remove bees - - -	Devon.
(Any other day will be fatal to them) - - -	Cornwall.
To wean babies - - -	Devon, Lancs.
To short-coat babies -	Hants. (Hursley).
To cast babies' caps -	North of England.
(c) Special Viands. <sup>3</sup>	
Hot-cross-buns - - - -	General.

<sup>1</sup> Note that all these are true taboos, automatically and supernaturally punished.

<sup>2</sup> Traditional Legends of the Crucifixion are told to account for this, and for the taboo on washing.

<sup>3</sup> Miss C. M. Yonge notes that "the old custom" (at Hursley, Hants.) "now gone out, was that farmers should send their men to church on Good Friday. They used all to appear in their rough dirty smock frocks and go back to work again. . . Some, of whom it never would have been expected, would fast all day." (*John Keble's Parishes*, p. 175.)

Other cases of the practice of total fasting may be discoverable. If so, endeavour should be made to ascertain if any definite benefit—immunity from accident, good health in harvest, or the like—was expected to result from it.

In the west Midlands, in my early days, and possibly still, it was usual in country places to allow the labourers a holiday on Good Friday on condition that they attended morning service. (The church-bells were not chimed, and the services were conducted with a minimum of music.) The elder men generally spent the afternoon in their gardens, and the younger played informal games of football. The chapels utilised the holiday for teas and prayer-meetings in the evening.—C. S. B.



*Catalogue of Brand Material.*

Hot-cross buns :		LOCALITY.
Cried in street with rhyme		Berks., Cornwall, Northants., Staffs., Warwick, London.
Lozenge-shaped (obsolete)		Northants. (Hone).
Triangular - - -		Lincs. (Grantham).
Several varieties known -		Cornwall.
Saffron-cakes - - -		Suffolk (Yarmouth).
Cracklins or Cracknels (biscuits) - - -		Lancs.
Frumenty - - -		Lancs. (Blackpool).
Fish (salt, with egg-sauce) -		Cornwall, Lincs., Cheshire, Staffs., General in better classes.
Freshwater fish - - -		Cheshire in inland places.
Salt herrings (colliers' treat)		South Staffs.
Fig-sue or sowan - - -		Cumb., Westm., Lancs. and North Country generally.
Herb-pudding ("Passover Pudding") - - -		North Country.
Jannocks (oaten loaves) -		Lancs. (The Fylde).
Trodkins (oatcakes mixed with bacon) - - -		Lancs. (The Fylde).
Browis (broth) - - -		Lancs. (The Fylde).
Calf's liver - - -		N. Lincs. (2 villages in).
Almonds, raisins and figs -		Oxford (Brasenose College).

*(d) Observances at Wells.*

Drinking liquorice water at well - - -	Derby (Castleton).
Visiting Wishing Well - -	Derby (Dale Abbey).
Washing Tomb from Newell Well - - -	Lincs. (Glentham).
Dipping head in St. Margaret's Well - - -	Salop (Wellington).

*(e) Observances with plants.*

<i>Adoxa Moschatellina</i> called Good Friday Flower -	(E. D. D.).
<i>Linzula Campestris</i> called Good Friday Grass -	(E. D. D.).
Mountain-ash sprigs put over doors to keep out evil -	Cornwall (Blisland, Warleggan).
Gorse burnt - - -	Salop (near Oswestry).



	LOCALITY.
Churches decked with yew -	Worc. (Leigh, Belbroughton).
Holly removed from churches	N. Yorkshire.
Crosses made - - -	N. Yorkshire.
(f) Bell Customs.	
Benefaction for tolling bell -	Staffs. (Bushbury).
Funeral bell tolled - -	Yorks. (Fishlake), Herts. (Ayot St. Peter), Lincs. (Boston, Winterton).
(g) Distribution of Doles (benefactions).	
Bread - - - -	Kent (Hoo, 1516), Hampstead.
Cakes - - - -	Devon and Dorset (some parishes in).
Grain - - - -	Beds. (Eaton Bray), Hunts. (Gt. Stoughton).
Money - - - -	Devon (Ideford), London (Allhallows, Lombard St., Great St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield).
Marriage Portions - -	Berks. (Reading).
(h) Games and Pastimes.	
Rounders - - - -	Somerset (Wincanton).
„ played on Church Green - -	Essex (Brightlingsea).
Marbles - - - -	Sussex.
Skipping - - - -	Suffolk (Yarmouth).
„ by the fisherfolk -	Sussex (Brighton).
Knurr and Spell (trapball) -	Lakeland, Lancs., Lincs., Salop, Yorks.
“ Cock-kippit ” - - -	Devon (Hartland).
Fishing - - - -	Northumb. (Coquetdale).
Seeking Shell-fish - -	Cornwall (Helford).
Shooting Game on ground usually preserved - -	North Lincs.

### III. *Special Local Observances.*

Hallowing Cramp Rings (obs.) -	Westminster Abbey.
Visiting the Rollright Stones -	Warwickshire.
Visiting St. Martha's Chapel :	
Dancing - - - -	Surrey (Guildford).
Visiting Figs' Hill : oranges rolled (cf. Palm Sunday) - - -	Beds. (Dunstable).



	LOCALITY.
Squirrel-hunting - - - -	Glos. (Stinchcombe Hill), Somerset (Shervage Wood, in the Quan- tocks).
Villages fight on boundary bridge	Cheshire (Farndon v. Holt).
Fairs :	
Described as " well frequented,"	
1630 - - - - -	Devon (Stokenham).
Removed from Sunday by Henry	
III. - - - - -	Devon (Teignmouth).
Now removed to Easter Tuesday	Devon (East Budleigh).
Now removed to Wednesday in	
Holy Week - - - - -	Devon (Uffculme).

## WALES.

I. *Name.*

Dydd Gwener Grogolith. (" The Lesson of the Cross Friday.")

II. *Natural Phenomena.*

	LOCALITY.
It is unlucky to be born on Good Friday - - - - -	South Wales.
Good Friday Bread and Cross-buns keep, and are curative to man and beast - - - - -	General.
Good Friday Bread and Cross-buns are talismans against shipwreck	South Wales.
Good Friday Bread and Cross-buns keep out goblins - - - - -	<i>Ibid.</i>
Thirst endured on Good Friday secures against injury from any- thing drunk during the year -	South Wales.
The devil can be raised on Good Friday - - - - -	Radnor Forest.

III. *Observances.*

## (a) Things Forbidden or Unlucky.

To disturb the earth - -	South Wales.
To sow or plant - - -	South Wales.
To use a needle (lightning will strike the user) - -	South Wales.
To begin any new work -	South Wales.

## (b) Things Customary or Approved.

Walking barefoot to church (obs.) - - - - -	S. Pembrokeshire (Ten- by, etc.).
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" Making Christ's Bed " (lay- ing a rush figure on a wooden cross in a field: obs.) - - -				LOCALITY.
Playing football - - -				South Pembrokeshire. West Wales.

IV. *Local Legends.*

Rocks rent at the Crucifixion	-	Foel Hafod Bleddyn (Merionethshire), The Skyrrid Mountain (Mon- mouthshire). <sup>1</sup>
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SCOTLAND.

I. *Natural Phenomena.*

Eggs laid on, keep fresh	-	West Highlands.
Butter made on, is curative	-	West Highlands.
Hazel rod cut on, makes divining- rod - - -	-	West Highlands.

II. *Things Forbidden.*

To put iron into the ground	-	West Highlands.
Blacksmiths will not work (legend)	-	Caithness.

IRELAND.

I. *Natural Phenomena.*

A man born on Good Friday and christened on Easter Day is a doctor - - -	-	Cork.
A girl who meets her lover on Good Friday will never be married	-	Locality (?).

II. *General Observances.*

Flax must be sown before Good Friday - - -	-	Tyrone.
Mussels gathered before Good Fri- day - - -	-	Donegal.
Unweaned babies made to fast	-	Connaught.

III. *Local Observance.*

Pilgrimage to the Skellig Rocks	-	Cork.
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<sup>1</sup> In England, the Needle's Eye on the Wrekin, Salop. This list might be very much extended.



## MAN.

I. *Things Forbidden.*

To heat iron in the fire. (A wooden poker, made of ash or rowan, is therefore used.)

II. *Viands.*

Eggs and fish.

Three-cornered bannocks: baked on the hearth to avoid using the griddle.

## SCILLY.

"Limpeting" (gathering limpets) practised.

## GUERNSEY.

Limpeting practised.

Cross-buns introduced in modern times.

## SARK.

*Customary Pastimes.*

Sailing toy boats.

Playing rounders.

*EASTERTIDE.*

(Including Low Sunday and Hocktide.)

## EASTER EVE.

## ENGLAND.

If you listen in a graveyard, you will hear  
the dead talking - - - -

LOCALITY.

(Qy. authority and locality?)

Boys carry a black flag, repeating a ditty Dorset.

## WALES.

Called "Slashing Saturday" - - - Montgomeryshire.



## EASTER DAY.

## ENGLAND.

I. *Names.*

## LOCALITY.

Goddess Sondaie (16th century).

Holy Sunday	-	-	-	-	Sussex.
Goodfeast Day	-	-	-	-	Yorks. (Hornsea).
Paste-egg Day	-	-	-	-	Northumberland.
Bowl-egg Sunday	-	-	-	-	Rochdale.
Rive-Kite Sunday	-	-	-	-	Hull.

II. *Natural Phenomena.*

Coincidence with Lady-Day portentous.

Weather governs year's weather,  
harvest-weather, Whitsuntide  
weather, etc.

The sun dances on rising - Northumb., Durham,  
Yorks., Lincs., Nor-  
folk, Derbysh., Staffs.,  
Salop, Herefordsh., So-  
merset, Devon, Corn-  
wall, Sussex.

No one can see it, as the Devil  
hides it - - - -

It trembles - - - - Sussex.

It whirls round and jumps - Devon.

A lamb is seen in it - Devon, Somerset.

Its rays are Jacob's ladder - Lincs.

It is double - - - - East Riding.<sup>1</sup>

Apparitions seen in Waters.

St. Austin's Well - - - Dorset (Cerne).

The Mermaid's Pool - - - Derbysh. (Kinderscout).

Lent lilies (daffodils) presage death  
if brought into the house before

Easter - - - - Cornwall.

A lamb seen on rising on Easter

Day brings luck - - - Devon?

Birds spoil old clothes. - - General.

Ring made of silver offered at

Easter cures fits - - - Berks.

<sup>1</sup>Qy. authority?



III. *General Observances.*

## (a) Early Rising.

## LOCALITY.

High places visited to see sunrise.

Peak Castle Hill - - Derbyshire.

Dartmoor Tors - - Devon.

The Mendips - - Somerset.

Wrekin and Titterstone - Salop.

Ditty used to rouse men-  
servants - - - -

Devon (Staverton).

To see a lamb on first rising  
betokens lucky marriage -

Yorkshire.

To visit every room in the  
house before breaking the  
fast secures housewife from  
troubles during the year -(Qy. locality and autho-  
rity ?).

## (b) Clothes.

Unlucky not to wear new  
clothes - - - -Cumb., Westm., Yorks.  
(Richmond, Whitby),  
Lincs. (Boston), Suf-  
folk, South Staffs.Birds will drop upon old  
clothes - - - -Northumb., Westm.,  
Lincs. (Grantham),  
Norfolk, Lancs.Crows or rooks drop upon old  
clothes (probably the same  
bird is meant) - - -Northumb., Cumb.,  
Yorks. (E. Riding),  
Cheshire, Salop.

Birds' dropping brings luck -

Yorks. (Cleveland).

Young man must give his  
Valentine gloves - -

Devon, Oxon.

A lucky day to change babies'  
caps - - - -

Yorks.

## (c) Fire.

Fires in houses extinguished

Easter Eve - - - Leic. (1611).

New fire made in churches  
(pre-Reformation) - -Leicester, Reading,  
Westminster.Fire and light not given out  
of house - - - -

Staffs. (19th cent.).



(d) Water.

	LOCALITY.
Divination of year's prosperity from reflection of sun in pail of water - -	Lincs. (Marshland), Yorks.
"Sugar-cupping" (drinking sugar and water from certain wells) - - -	Northumberland, Derbyshire (High Peak).
(Easter Monday). Children drink liquorice water -	East Riding.

(e) Plants.

Daffodils may be brought into house - - -	Cornwall.
Graves decked with flowers -	Herefordsh.
Church decked with box (obs.)	<i>Ibid.</i> (Kington).
Cornfields visited.	
"Corn-showing" (taking cake and cider to wheat-fields) - - -	Herefordsh.
"Walking the wheat" -	Monmouthsh.
Herbs eaten in forcemeat or puddings - - -	(See below.)

(f) Special Viands.

Red herring riding away <sup>1</sup> -	Oxford (Queen's College, 17th cent.).
Gammon of bacon (cf. Selden)	North Country.
Leg of pork stuffed with herbs - - -	Salop (Ludlow).
Lamb with mint-sauce -	General among the well-to-do.
Veal (usually stuffed, and served with bacon) - -	Hull, Lancs., Cheshire, Staffs., Herefordsh.
Veal with herb-pudding -	Cumb., Westm., West Yorkshire.
Tansy pudding - - -	Durham, York, Lancs. (?), Norfolk, Cambridge (Trin. Coll.). Cf. Selden and Pepys.
Duck (stuffed?) to ensure payment of debts next year	Devon (Plymouth).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "Herrings, herrings white and red!  
Ten a penny! Lent is dead!"



	LOCALITY.
Easter dumplings -	Lancs., Berks.
Mincepies (the mincemeat reserved from Christmas) -	Salop, Herefordsh.
Cheesecakes - - -	Herefordsh. Lincs. (Nettleham).
Pudding-pies (pastry filled with custard) - - -	Kent.
Baked custard puddings -	Norf., E. Suff., Cleveland, Whitby.
Egg puddings - - -	Cheshire (Neston).
Eggs } for breakfast -	Cheshire.
Furmety }	
Tansy cakes.	
Easter cakes - - -	Hants. (Wherwell).
	Sussex (Slinford and Rudgwick: <i>lucky</i> ), Gloucestershire (Stroud, Bristol; Cheltenham, resembling "Banbury Cakes").
Egged ale - - - -	Cheshire (Neston).
Egg-flip - - - -	<i>Ibid.</i> (Wilmslow), Cumberland.
Mulled ale—drunk at public-houses on Sunday evening	Cumberland.
Easter ale (an extra allowance to labourers) - - -	Northants.
Horses fed on Good Friday bread on Easter morning <sup>1</sup>	Staffs. (Garmelow, near Eccleshall).

## EASTER BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS.

### I. General.

#### (a) Easter Dues and Offerings payable.

10s. from emoluments of Chapelry offered on altar of Parish Church, Easter Sunday - - - -	Staffs. (Eccleshall).
Rent-charge paid on Communion table, Easter Monday - - - -	Devon (Maristow).

<sup>1</sup> Bell-ringing and carol-singing customs wanted.



	LOCALITY.
Rent of Gloves (Middle Ages)	Worcester Priory.
" Candle-money " due on Easter Eve - - -	(formerly General.)
Dues for hearth, light, and poultry paid - - -	Northumb. (Alwinton, 1840).
Eggs collected and presented to parson - - -	Lincs. (Clee).
Clerk paid by parochial hearth tax - - -	Suffolk (Wenhaston).

(b) Annual Parochial Settlement, Easter Monday.

Annual Vestry Meeting.

„ Audit of Year's Accounts.	
„ Appointment of Parochial Officers -	General.
„ Ceremonies at Churchwardens' Dinner -	Cheshire (Barthomley).

II. *Local.*

" Mother Pugsley's Dole " distributed - - -	Bristol.
Lord Mayor's Dole to Christ's Hospital Boys, Easter Tuesday	City of London.
Court of Array of Tenants by Knight Service. (Tuesday) -	Sheffield.
Easter Court (Manorial) scuffle for a shilling - - -	Leicester.

EASTER HOLIDAYS.

I. *General Observances.*

(a) Easter Eggs.

Called " Pace Eggs " -	Lancashire.
„ " Paste Eggs " -	Northumberland.
Dyed and sometimes gilded in	Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, North Lancashire
Plain in - - -	South Lancashire, Cheshire.



Collected	LOCALITY.
in Holy Week - - -	Swaledale.
from Monday to Thursday	
in Holy Week - - -	Blackburn.
on Good Friday - - -	Lancs. (some country places in).
Begging lasts 2 or 3 weeks - - -	Manchester and district.
by children, with or without rhymes (generally in costume and carrying sticks and baskets) -	Northumb. (Alnwick, Belford, Newcastle, Rothbury), Cumberland (Whitehaven), Durham, Lancs. (Blackburn and East Lancs.), Cheshire (Wirral, Wilm-slow, Northenden).
by young men with Character Songs ("Jolly Lads") - - -	Westmoreland, Lancs. (Furness, The Fylde, <sup>1</sup> Heysham, Walton-le-Dale, Preston, Rochdale, Rossendale(?) and Prestwich), Cheshire (Thurstaston), Yorkshire (York and (?) Wensleydale).
by young men with Drama	Lancs. (Bury, Manchester, Didsbury and district. The Fylde, <sup>2</sup> Yorkshire (Leeds, Otley, Sheffield). <sup>3</sup>
by young men with Masquerade (men in skins of animals, men in fancy	

<sup>1</sup> In the Fylde and East Lancs. dancing (qy. sword-dancing?) is mentioned in connection with pace-egging.

<sup>2</sup> Called *Ignagning*; probably pronounced "iggun-aggun-ing."

<sup>3</sup> This may be inferred from the fact that the only known printed copies of the Mummers' Play are printed at these towns and entitled "The Peace-Egg." But information as to the folk-lore of the West Riding is strangely scanty.



dress, men and women exchanging garments) -	LOCALITY. East Lancs., Blackburn.
(" Playing Old Ball "	
at " pace-egging	
time ") - - -	Blackburn, Worsley, Swinton.
Played with on Easter Monday. <sup>1</sup>	
(" Boolin' and jaupin' ") -	Northumb. (Alnwick, Belford, Newcastle, Rothbury), Durham.
(" Trowlin' " or " throw- lin' ") - - -	Yorkshire (Cleveland, Whitby, Swaledale).
(" Jerrin' ") - - -	Westm. (Kendal), Lancs. (Furness, Blackpool).
(" Bowlin' " on " Bowl-egg Day ") - - -	Rochdale, Rossendale.
Eaten on Easter Sunday -	Sunderland, Cheshire (Thurstaston, Wirral, Wilmslow, Northen- den).
If a woman refuses to give a man an egg she forfeits her shoes; if a man a woman, his ( <i>F.L.J.</i> vii. 318) -	Northumb. (Gateshead).
Eggs are hidden in " hare's nests " to be searched for by children (Henderson) -	Yorkshire. (Query if traditional.)

(b) Heaving and Cognate Customs.

Called Heaving - - -	Lancs., Cheshire, Staffs., Salop, Worc., War- wick.
„ Hefting - - -	Cleveland.
„ Hoisting - - -	Cheshire.
„ Hoving - - -	Herefordshire.
„ Lifting - - -	Cheshire, Lancs., Yorks.
Men lift women, Monday; women, men, Tuesday -	Lancs. (Manchester, Liverpool, Whalley, St. Helen's, Bolton, the Fylde, and rural districts), Cheshire (Chester, Neston, Stock-

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes on Easter Sunday afternoon.



	LOCALITY.
	port, Alderley, Barthomley, Mow Cop villages), Staffs. (esp. Black Country), Salop (all parts), Herefordsh. (no special locality), Worc. (Alvechurch), Warwickshire.
Women lift men, Monday ; men, women, Tuesday <sup>1</sup> -	Lancs. (Manchester, Bolton, Ashton-under-Lyne), Cheshire (Knutsford, Warrington), Worc. (Worcester, Hartlebury).
Patients lifted :	
horizontally (held by legs and arms) - - -	Manchester (1784).
in the arms (or caught round waist) - -	Warrington, Black Country.
erect (held by the elbows and thrown forward to alight) - - -	Cleveland.
seated :	
on the crossed hands -	Black Country.
in a chair, often deco- rated - - -	Salop, Cheshire.
Feet sprinkled with water by bunch of flowers - -	South Salop, Herefsh.
Maid will break crockery if not heaved - - -	Salop (Tong). Worc. (Hartlebury).
Unlousing Day or Lousing Day (Easter Monday) - -	N. Derbyshire.
Girls formerly lifted in chair and kissed - - -	<i>ibid.</i> (Wormhill).
Young men privileged to kiss girls and thereby "un- louse" or release them -	<i>ibid.</i> (Hathersage, Baslow, Bamford).

<sup>1</sup> This statement requires close examination. In the case (*e.g.*) of Manchester, it is contradicted by the evidence of residents; in some other cases it does not rest on that of eye-witnesses. At Ashton-under-Lyne it is unlikely that the men engaged in riding the "Black Lad" (see below) should at the same time have been subject to the attention of the "heavers."



LOCALITY.

Girls "cucked" or tossed if  
they refused to be kissed - *ibid.* (Bradwell).  
Boys steal girls' shoes,  
Easter Sunday afternoon  
till Monday noon. Girls  
then steal boys' caps till  
Tuesday noon - - - Northumb. (Alnwick),  
Durham, North Yorks.  
(Whitby, Redcar, Filey,  
Ripon), Lancs. (Pres-  
ton).

"Hefting" or lifting (girls  
seized boys' caps, Monday.  
Boys lifted girls by the  
elbows till shoes fell off,  
Tuesday) - - - Carlton in Cleveland.

"Leggin' Day." (Boys and  
girls privileged to trip one  
another up) - - - East Riding.

(c) Games.

Hand-ball - - - Northumb. (Alnwick,  
Morpeth, Newcastle).

Easter called "Ball-time."  
If ball not "well played,"  
lads will fall sick in har-  
vest. (See Shrovetide) - Yorks. (North Riding).

Football, fives, cricket, etc.,  
played after morning ser-  
vice - - - Yorks. (Richmond).

"Luking" (playing trap-ball  
or "knurr and spell")  
begins - - - West Riding, Helmsley.

Football on the Roodee ex-  
changed for races, *i.* Henry  
VIII. - - - Chester.

"The Ring" (probably Kiss-  
in-the-Ring) - Lancs.

„ Played with a stick  
instead of a  
handkerchief - Lancs. (Padiham in  
Whalley).

Kissing-ring (said to be  
Barley-break, but query) - Hull.

Cockfighting - - - Alnwick.



Throwing at cakes (qy. if	LOCALITY.
Easter ?) - - - -	Shropshire.
Water-quintain (12th cent.)	London.
Miracle-plays.	

II. *Special Local Celebrations. Easter Sunday.*

Bacon blessed by priest after mass distributed through the parish, 1395 - - - -	Lincs. (Nettleham).
Parson feasts parishioners on bread and cheese and beer, in church, to <i>circa</i> 1598, afterwards in parsonage-house - - - -	Salop (Clungunford).
Parson provides Love-feast in the church to 1639; elsewhere, and on Monday, to 1713 - - - -	Salop (Berrington).
Scramble for apples in church-yard —(those married within the year throw three times as many as others)—followed by bread and cheese and ale provided by parson - - - -	Oxon. (Northmore).
Cakes (apparently provided by parson) distributed among young people in church, to 1645; afterwards penny loaves scrambled for by poor (1874) - - - -	Twickenham.
Cakes, bread, and cheese, distributed under supposed bequest of "Biddenden Maids" - - - -	Kent (Biddenden).
Easter eggs presented to congregation after morning service - - - -	London (St. Mary Woolnoth).
"Chipping the block." Members of College attempt to split the cook's chopping-block with a blunt axe, after dinner, and fee cook - - - -	Oxford (Univ. Coll.).

*Special Local Celebrations. Easter Monday.*

Riding the Black Lad (cfigy clad in black, carried round town on horseback, shot at and finally burned. Marl-pit cleansed and mud spattered) - - - -	Lancs. (Ashton-under-Lyne).
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	LOCALITY.
Riding the Lord (man led round town on donkey and pelted with rotten eggs) - - - -	Cheshire (Neston).
Riding Jack o' Lent (effigy mounted on loose horse and finally hung or burnt) - - - -	Surrey (Haslemere).
Hare-pie and Bottle-kicking. (Parson provides out of legacy, hare-pie and beer to be scrambled for, followed by football—Melbourne v. Hallaton—with dummy bottle as ball) - - - -	Leicester (Hallaton).
Hare presented to parson, who returns a calf's head, 100 eggs and a groat - - - -	Warw. (Coleshill).
Hare-hunt (mock) attended by Mayor and Brethren, in scarlet gowns. Fair - - - -	Leicester.
Annual Stag-hunt in Epping Forest	Essex.
Widows permitted to take load of wood from Hainault Forest -	Barking and Dagenham.
Games reported to be held on moor by permission of Lord of the Manor - - - -	Lancs. (Kirby).
Special games annually played (by girls) in Park - - - -	Glos. (Minchinhampton).
"Ball-racing" on "Ball-Monday" (women's?) foot races in Park. Small cakes ("suck-balls") sold	Oxon. (Hook Norton).
Mayor and Burgesses, in scarlet, preceded by Waits, attended sports, got up for the Woodward at Robin Hood's Well - -	Nottingham.
Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriff, presided at games at the "Forth" (ancient local recreation ground), 1725 - - - -	Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Archery competition between Sheriffs for breakfast of calves' heads and bacon - - - -	Chester.
Archery competition among Grammar-School boys for (1) silver buckles, (2) a cock - - - -	Manchester.
"Thread the Needle" played in the streets - - - -	Evesham, Minchinhampton.



			LOCALITY.
" Clipping the Church " carried out			Wolverhampton, Bir- mingham, and (for- merly) Painswick (Glos.).
Pleasure Fairs held	-	-	Halesowen (Salop), Herne Bay, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
"	"	(couples roll down Observatory Hill)	Greenwich.
"	"	(" white cakes " sold)	- - Poulton le Fylde (Lancs.).
"	"	(biscuits sold)	Norwich.
"	"	(raffling)	- - Penzance.

## EASTER TUESDAY.

" Holly-bussing " (decorating village cross and dancing to music of clerk's fiddle) -			Northumb. (Nether Wit- ton).
" Clerk's Ale "	-	-	Wilts. (Chiseldon).
Football Contest; " Uppies " (iron- workers) v. " Downies " (sailors) -	-	-	Cumb. (Workington).
" Eakring Ball Play " (football) -	-	-	Notts. (Eakring).
" Grandy Needles " (thread the needle) played in streets after " jerring pace- eggs " in Vicar's field -	-	-	Westm. (Kendal).
Fair (peal of bells rung) -	-	-	Devon (East Budleigh)

## EASTER SUNDAY (WALES).

I. *Natural Phenomena.*

The sun dances at rising	-	-	General.
Weather influences Whitsuntide weather -	-	-	General.
Water drawn down stream in silence before sunrise is proof against witches and evil spirits -			South Wales.
Birth or baptism on Easter Day fortunate -	-	-	South Wales.

II. *Observances.*

## (a) Things forbidden or deprecated.

To step barefoot on the floor on rising -	-	-	South Wales.
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LOCALITY.

To give a dog a lamb-bone (it  
will go mad) - - - South Wales.

(b) Things enjoined or recommended.

To rise before the sun and  
ascend a height.

The people gave three  
somersaults - - - Denbighshire (Llan-  
gollen).

The last married man pro-  
claimed the hour of ris-  
ing overnight; delin-  
quents were put in the  
stocks, questioned, and  
their right hands coated  
with mud. Girls have  
to give a kiss or a shoe - Carnarvonshire(Conway).

Youths in the stocks (as  
above) had a leg held up  
and a pail of water  
poured down it - - - Bangor and Carnarvon  
(1732).

The victim's hand was  
beaten with a branch of  
gorse - - - Glamorgan.

To wear something new:  
else the birds would spoil  
your clothes - - - General.

To sing carols (obs.) - - - North Wales.

(c) Special Viands.

Eggs at every meal - - - English Border

"Yellow" cake (a sort of  
seed cake) - - - English Border.

Servants have an egg with  
breakfast - - - West Denbighshire.

Everything cooked must  
have eggs in it - - - English Border

(d) Easter Eggs.

Collected by children with  
rhyme and clapper - - - North Wales (Anglesey,  
Carnarvonshire, Den-  
bighshire).



Collected by the parish clerk as part of the parson's Easter dues - - - -	LOCALITY. Denbighshire, etc.
(Farmers' wives still present the parson with eggs.)	

III. *Local Observances.*

Throwing keys or pins into St. Catherine's Well - - - -	Criccieth.
Throwing a crooked pin into the Pinwell, "to throw Lent away"	Pembrokeshire (Gumfreyston).
Music, and distribution of doles on hillside - - - - -	Llandrillo, near Bala.
Playing ball in the castle grounds	Conway.

## EASTER MONDAY.

I. *Name.*

"Everybody's Monday" (authority, Hazlitt).	
"Pull-ye, haul-ye" Monday and Tuesday - - - - -	Montgom. (Llan-santffraid).

II. *General Observances.*

Visiting Wells; scattering flowers and drawing water, for luck -	Glamorganshire, Carmarthenshire.
Setting up a decorated birch-bough on the churchyard cross; watching it to guard against thieves -	Glamorganshire (Llandundwyd, etc.).
Dancing round an oak-tree (obs.) -	South Wales.
"Lifting" or "heaving" women three times in a chair, and kissing them - - - - -	North Wales generally, Glamorganshire (1701-1741).

III. *Special Local Observance.*

"The Parish Clerk's Meeting" (i.e. tea-party) - - - - -	Tenby and Gumfreyston.
Feast at Well (drinking sugar and water) - - - - -	Montgom. (Llanerfyl).



## EASTER TUESDAY.

### LOCALITY.

#### I. General Observance.

The women "heave" the men     \*     North Wales.

#### II. Special Local Observance.

Scrambling for 12 black and 12  
white tennis balls thrown over  
the church by a childless woman  
(obs.)     -     -     -     -     -     Whitchurch, near Cardiff.

## EASTER HOLIDAYS.

### Amusements.

Ball-playing.

Ball-play in churchyards began  
Easter Eve, continued Sunday.

Cockfighting.

Trying to drink *bragawd* from cups  
surrounded by candles carried  
on a cake of clay on a girl's head     (authority Wirt Sikes).

## EASTER SUNDAY (SCOTLAND).

#### I. Names.

Cāsg	-	-	-	-	-	(Gaelic).
Paiss Sunday	-	-	-	-	-	North-east     Scotland (Pittulie).
Peace Saturday (Easter Eve)	-	-	-	-	-	Forfarsh. (Arbroath).
Pace Sunday	-	-	-	-	-	Near Loch Vennachar (Leyden's Tour, 1800).

#### II. Natural Phenomena.

Sun dancing	-	-	-	-	-	Hebrides (1670, 1902).
Wind controls weather	-	-	-	-	-	North-east     Scotland (Pittulie).
Healing powers of Fergan Well (St. Fergus)	-	-	-	-	-	Banff (Kirkmichael).



III. *Observances.*

## LOCALITY.

Boys feast secretly on pancakes made from <i>stolen</i> eggs <sup>1</sup> - - -	West Highlands and Hebrides.
Eggs collected and eaten for break- fast - - - - -	Caithness.
Dyed eggs rolled - - - - -	N.E. Scotland, "in some districts."
Eggs eaten for breakfast and egg- shell boats sailed - - - - -	N.E. Scotland, "in other districts."
Eggs rolled in public park (Easter Eve) - - - - -	Dundee, Montrose and Forfarshire Burghs generally.
Called "Pasque Eggs" - - -	Arbroath.
"Dyed Egg Day" (1st Monday in April) <sup>2</sup> - - - - -	Borders (Jedburgh, etc.).
Rolling eggs on customary site on hillside - - - - -	Duns.
Eggs <i>forbidden to be cooked</i> by descendant of Cameronians -	Wigtownshire.

IV. *Special Observance.*

Visiting Fergan Well at midnight	Banff (Kirkmichael).
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## EASTER.

## IRELAND.

I. *Name.*

*Cend-la.*<sup>3</sup>

II. *Natural Phenomena.*

Sun dancing - - - - -	Wexford.
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III. *Observances.*(a) *Preparations.*

Whitewashing cabins.

Hair-cutting and head-washing.

<sup>1</sup> See *Folk-Lore*, vi. 197, for virtue of stolen goods.

<sup>2</sup> Described in the *Scotsman*, 5th April, 1909, as the *original* day, the place of which has recently been usurped by introduction of English Easter customs.

<sup>3</sup> Is this Maundy Thursday?



(b) Easter Eggs. LOCALITY.

Collected by masqueraders - Wexford.  
 Eaten out-of-doors, by children's picnic parties - Wexford.  
 Dyed and "trundled" (by Presbyterians only) - - Belfast.

(c) Special Viands.

Eggs must be eaten, especially in - - - Connaught.  
 Breakfast of eggs, dinner of fresh meat - - - Clare (Kilrush).  
 Boiled fowl and bacon eaten after midnight - - Wexford.  
 Every house must have meat in it - - - Wexford.  
 Bacon at Easter (Lever's novels).

(d) Amusements.

Dancing round a cake on a garlanded pole - - Leitrim (Kiltubbrid).  
 Cockfighting - - - Co. Roscommon and Connaught generally.

IV. *Special Observances.* (Easter Monday.)

Kissing the girls on "the Walter" - Co. Down (Portaferry).  
 Feast and sports - - - Co. Down (Lambeg).  
 Visiting the Cave-hill, dancing, etc. - Belfast.  
 Visiting Scatterry Island, going round the beach to the Holy Well on bare knees - - Co. Clare (Kilrush).  
 Muster of city forces (infantry) under command of Mayor.  
 Called "Black Monday" - - Dublin.

MAN.

I. *Natural Phenomena.*

Sun bows down three times in adoration.

II. *Traditional custom:* Pilgrims came from Ireland and Scottish Isles to bring offerings to the Church: hence following traditional sayings:

"West wind before Easter to carry the pilgrims to the Mother Church in Mann, and East wind after, to carry them home again."

or "East wind at Easter to drive the priests to Ireland.  
 West wind at Whitsuntide to drive them home again."



III. *Business Transacted.*

Small tithes paid.

## SCILLY.

*Observance.*

Goose-dancing (men and women exchanged clothes and went round the neighbourhood dancing and making topical jokes). 1750.

## JERSEY.

*Easter Monday.*

The great holiday of the year.  
Fair at Gorey.  
Assembly at Mont Orgueil Castle.

## GUERNSEY.

*Observances.*

Begging for eggs (obs.).  
Viands—fried eggs and bacon.  
(If fowls' eggs could not be had, then wild birds' eggs were used.)

FIRST SUNDAY AFTER EASTER AND  
MONDAY FOLLOWING.

## ENGLAND.

I. *Names.*

## LOCALITY.

Low Sunday - - - - General.  
Little Easter Sunday.

II. *Local Ceremonies.**(Sunday).*

The Wardstaff, by which  
certain land was held in  
Ongar and Harlow, cut by  
the bailiff of the Hundred Essex (Ongar).  
Mock Mayor chosen and  
attended Church in state;  
banquet afterwards - - Cornwall (Lostwithiel).



(Monday).

LOCALITY.

- The " Wap " (weavers' festival ; Mock Mayor chosen, chaired, and splashed with water ; sprinkled others.  
 " Bush " inns) - - - - - Glos. (Randwick).  
 " Middleton Monday " (inspection of highways ; schoolboys break loose) - Nottingham (Hone's *E.D.B.* 1826).  
 " The Cuckowe Prince " chosen at parish meeting, to succeed the " Cuckowe King " next year <sup>1</sup> - - - - - Wilts. (Mere.) (1565).

# SCOTLAND.

Names.

- Càisg nam badach - - - - - West Highlands.  
 " Law Sondag after pasche."

Observance.

- Wappynschawing " the nixt morn after " - - - - - Edinburgh (1555).

# HOCK-TIDE.

The Monday and Tuesday a fortnight after Easter. Etymology uncertain.

Object, to collect money for pious uses.

Observance.

- Men and women severally " chained " roads and demanded toll of kisses and money (obs.).  
 Noticed in Documents - - - Berks. (Reading).  
 " " - - - Herts. (Bishop's Stortford).  
 " " - - - Hants. (parishes in).  
 " " - - - West Kent (Brenchley).

<sup>1</sup> Was his reign to last during the cuckoo's sojourn? say April 25th to June 24th.



	LOCALITY.	
Noticed in Documents	-	- Lincs. (Sleaford).
"          "	-	- Worcestersh. (Worcester Priory).
and others recorded by Brand and Hone.		
"Hockenbench," a seat near the		
Maypole (Aubrey)	-	- Wilts.

*Local Business Transacted.*

Court leet (still held)	-	- Southampton.
Rent of shops payable to hospital		
(1222)	-	- Oswestry.
"Service of the Wardstaff"	-	- Essex (Ongar, Harlow).
Kissing Day or Hockney Day.		
(Commoners summoned by horn : jury chosen, tithing-men appointed, who go round town demanding a 1d. from each man and a kiss from each woman. At supper they drink to the memory of John of Gaunt, traditional grantor of their liber- ties. Still observed)		
	-	- Berks. (Hungerford).

(*To be continued.*)

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## COLLECTANEA.

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### FOLK LORE AND LEGENDS FROM THE COASTS OF COUNTIES MAYO AND GALWAY.<sup>1</sup>

THE following collection made during scattered and hurried visits is, at best, mere rough material available for other workers. No task is so difficult for an occasional visitor as collecting folk-lore; the people are nervously shy about disclosing their beliefs, even to clergy and gentry living among them, and it is rare that one can gain their confidence during a visit of even a week. A fear of ridicule is perhaps the strongest obstacle; incredulity in the stranger is a hopeless deterrent; accordingly I have always done my best to break down these barriers first. Friendly conversation, letting them introduce the subjects, is the first step; showing an interest in matters of local interest the next, and, what I have rarely found ineffectual, a candid talk about one's own aims and interests, and a bending of conversation to beliefs and wonders in other places. My family being endowed with a banshee and "headless coach," I have found a decent pride in these advantages useful in establishing a belief in my being a sympathetic listener. Once the ice is broken there is but little difficulty about getting information. I do not pretend to even the comparative completeness that some forty years' experience gave to my Co. Clare studies, but perhaps these Connacht notes may be of use to others. I do not hesitate to give (indicating the sources) folk-lore collected by the workers of other generations, or tales of various ages, from the Lives of the Saints and the heroic sagas to

<sup>1</sup> In this paper I have been careful to retain the variant forms of the name used by the various records and books utilized. The map names (as usual) are corrupt and inaccurate (whether as Irish or phonetic forms) in the majority of cases.



Roderic O'Flaherty in 1670, and the early nineteenth century visitors, Knight, Maxwell and Otway. One of the most interesting studies in survival of legend supplied by Connacht is the comparison of the only recently unearthed Connacht version (1238) of the ninth century saga, the *Tain bo Flidhais*, with the late local legends of Dundonnell and Duncarton. Equally instructive is the modern tale of Grainne Uaile compared with her contemporary record. With no further remarks I will preface my paper by the legends attached to the forts and castles of the coast of Mayo, the tales of "Donnell Dualwee," of the Battle of Cross, of Geodruisge and St. Patrick. We can then proceed to study the later legends, and eventually the folk-lore from the Moy to Galway Bay.

#### 1. *The Legend of Dundonnell.*

On the long dreary road of over forty miles long from the nearest railway to Belmullet, after a weary drive, chiefly through featureless valleys and moors, we pass the end of Carrowmore Lake and the Munhin river, and ascend a rising ground. On the bare hillside to the north are some scattered houses and a yellow mossy mound, the fort of Rathmorgan. Farther westward we descend into Glencashel, a wooded and picturesque little stream glen, called "the Gate of Erris." In the centre rises a dome of volcanic rock, the upper knoll carved into a fort known as Dundonnell. Near it were shown the "turf rick," "corn stack," and grave of the giant "Donnell Dualwee" (Domhnall duail buidhe, the "yellow haired"). The fort was in occupation by the Barretts down, at least, to 1386, when Robert, son of Wattin Barrett, of Dún Domhnainn, fell, opposing the O'Dowds and O'Haras, who had felled the orchard of Caorthannán (at Castle Hill near Lough Conn<sup>1</sup>), the Ath Fen of the Flidhais legend. Behind the hills is the long creek of Trakirtaan, and farther north the fortified headland of Duncarton, on the bay of Broadhaven.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As some doubt is felt as to the identification, I may point to the *Book of Distribution and Survey*, 1655 (Public Rec. Office, Dublin), Mayo, p. 248, for Kirrhinan at Erriff in Tirawly, and to Bald's map of Mayo, "Castle Hill, Keerhanaan."

<sup>2</sup> Described *Journal Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland*, vol. xlii., p. 132.



Among the episodes leading up to the chief Irish epic, the *Tain bo Cuailgne*, is a lesser raid, the *Tain bo Flidhais*. Dry versions were told in Ulster, and appear in the twelfth century *Book of Leinster*,<sup>1</sup> but the full and interesting form clearly originated in the scene of the legend. It is preserved in the copy of an exemplar dated 1238, now in Scotland.<sup>2</sup> Rarely can we compare so early a version with the folk legends. Very briefly I give the outline. The hero Fergus, son of Roigh, a refugee at the Court of Queen Medbh, about the beginning of our era, hears of the beauty of Flidhais, wife of Oilill Finn, king of the Gamanraighe, an ancient tribe of Erris, and gets aid from his hostess and paramour Medbh to carry off the lady and her cattle. Entertained chivalrously by her husband, who suspects his design, he is then challenged to fight, overpowered and imprisoned at Dun Flidhais or Rathmorgan. Medbh goes to his rescue, fights her way past Ath Fenn (Oilill's residence at Caorthannan at Errew on Lough Conn) and through the hills and besets the fort.<sup>3</sup> Oilill Finn, despite every warning, is unprepared, and has to wait for his adherents. During the blockade the treacherous Flidhais, who was enamoured of Fergus, helps the latter to escape to the enemy while Oilill was drunk, and the latter in the morning has nothing left but to escape to the coast. His steward, Certan, lies in a ship off the strand named Tragh cuili Turgein, and is called by Oilill, but, having a wrong of his own to avenge, he backs the ship into the haven of *Cuan traga cinn certain*, and leaves Oilill to perish in a desperate fight. The chief's head is cut off by Fergus and brought to the faithless wife to show that she is free, and then the hero brings her and the spoils eastward over the Munhin. The Gamanraighe, under the father of their slain prince, Domnall duail buidhe,

<sup>1</sup> Also in *Leabar na huidhre* and an Egerton MS. See *Irische Texte* (Windisch), vol. ii., pp. 206;223.

<sup>2</sup> *Celtic Review*, "The Glenmassan Manuscript," Professor Mackinnon, vol. i., p. 214; vol. ii., p. 27; vol. iii., pp. 127-137; vol. iv., pp. 15-25 and 205-219. It also occurs in a later MS. in the Royal Irish Academy, which I understand is being edited by Miss M. Dobbs of Cushendall for *Eriu*.

<sup>3</sup> The topography is, as usual, minutely accurate, so much so that I have been able to make a detailed map of the legendary raid.—*Journal Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland*, xliv., p. 149.



pursue,<sup>1</sup> and though Domnall is slain in the hills to the east of the Munhin, the army of Medbh is routed, and Flidhais and the spoils recovered. The author ends abruptly by saying that Flidhais was never heard of more. There were evidently two versions of the Flidhais tale, and the local one took over and absorbed a separate story of Domnall duail buidhe. I think it by no means improbable that the folk tale and the Ulster version show the two unconnected constituents which are combined in the Erris recension by some one very well acquainted with the district.

Miss Knight, a sister of the civil engineer who has left us the tale in *Erris in the Irish Highlands*,<sup>2</sup> in 1836, collected the local legends. The published version was possibly touched up for publication, but is worth comparing with the cruder copy of the folk tale two years later. "Donald Doolwee," the giant, used to shut the gates of the glen at his fort of Doon Donald every night to safeguard his dominion. One night a powerful band of raiders surprised and took "Doon Carton" and "Doon Keeghan." Alarmed by fugitives, Donald sallies, driving back his enemies in a fierce battle on the strand of "Tra Kirtaan," where he is preserved from death by a magic sword knot made by a witch in Iniskea. His wife, Munchin, "the daughter of the Reeks," of Bally Croy, sees the fight, and falls in love with the hostile leader. She treacherously persuades her husband to make terms with him and entertain him in Doon Donald. She (like Dalila) entreats Donald to tell her the secret of his valour and strength. He calls up the sorceress of Iniskea, who administers a fearful oath on a skull, scythe, keys, and other objects,<sup>3</sup> and he tells how the sword is invincible till the knot is cut. Undeterred by her oath, she meets her lover in the glen, and directs him to tell Donald that he is about to return to "Doon Carton." The chief gets drunk at the farewell feast, and his rival cuts the knot, beheads him, and

<sup>1</sup> There is a very interesting account of the war dogs tearing down the chariot horses of Fergus, who has to escape on foot. The tale abounds in early features comparable with the Græco-Roman accounts of the Gauls in the centuries before our era.

<sup>2</sup> *loc. cit.*, p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> The belief in the tremendous validity added by iron to the very solemn oath on the skull was certainly a true local belief in the barony. See *infra*.



throws his body over the side of "Doon Donald." The body is buried by unseen hands, where two stones mark the grave.<sup>1</sup> The chief tires of the lady, and determines to go to his paternal home. She insists on going with him, but as they cross the flooded Munhin river on a single plank the lady falls in and is changed to a crane. I almost hesitate to cite Otway,<sup>2</sup> as he confessedly only adapts Miss Knight's story. In his account of "Dundonnell" and Glencashel he describes the grave of "Donald Doolwee," and adds, "The Doon of this glen has its legends," without saying how far he altered them. Donald was a giant, "as all Danish kings were," and was rendered unconquerable by a witch from the ocean isles. Another northern giant takes his forts of "Dooncarton" and "Doonkeegan," and fights him at Inver. Doolwee's wife, "Munhanna," sees the hostile chief and loves him, betrays her husband (though sworn on a skull by the sorceress), the fated sword knot is cut, Donald slain and thrown over the wall. The northern chief flings his mistress off his horse into the swollen river from Carrowmore Lake, and she becomes a crane. If Otway's version is taken accurately from Miss Knight, then her brother treated the tale very freely, for Otway, so to speak, renders it into Norse.

O'Donovan collected a simpler but kindred tale, and fortunately gives it as the local people told it. The hero Fergus plunders Erris, then ruled by the giant "Donell Doolwee," "whose wife was in collusion with him" (Fergus). She gives the enemy her husband's enchanted sword. "Donell," finding that he was betrayed, goes to another giant, Carton of "Duncarton," for aid, and finds that he is out in a boat. He shouts to "Carton" to take him away, but is refused, and hurls a rock at him. The boat sinks, and "Carton" is struck or drowned and buried at Gortmalle, near "Trakirtaan" strand, where an oblong enclosure of stones marks the grave. "Donell," in desperation, returns and is slain by Fergus at Dundonnell. The victorious hero, with "Munchin," sets off for his home. They reach the stream from Carrowmore Lake (Munhin), and as they cross on a foot stick he throws the lady into the river, where she is drowned. Fergus then marches gaily round

<sup>1</sup> They were 30 feet apart, but one was removed soon after Otway's visit, about 1839.

<sup>2</sup> *Erris and Tyrawly*, p. 39. He is indebted to Miss Knight, p. 42.



Corrsliabh to the east of Bangor Erris, where he is slain with all his followers by another giant, the Amadán Barroosky, who buries him in *Fanny leach Feargois* at Sheskin. The recollection of Donnell Doolwee and Kirtaan has not yet died out at the two forts, but I heard nothing of the fate of the lady or any legend at Rathmorgan save that the fort is "the real place" from which the townland is named; the name *Dun Flidhais* is unknown.

## 2. *The Battle of Cross.*

The long, low peninsula of the Mullet lies broadside to the Atlantic, beyond the great creeks of Blacksod Bay and Broadhaven, with the little town of Belmullet upon the isthmus. Standing on the rampart of Dundomhnall we see the great sandhills and little church tower of Binghamstown beyond the former bay. The sandhills are a singularly weird and lonely tract, famous for strange apparitions such as St. Elmo's fire, and reputedly the haunt of fairies and ghosts. They abound with small circles and cists, and in the centre a perfect and conspicuous little pyramid of slabs is called the *Leacht air Iorruis*, or tomb of the slaughter of Erris.<sup>1</sup> It is hard to find out how far the legends existed while the monuments were hidden away under the unremembering sands. Dr. Pococke in 1752 heard of "the tombs of Lugnadumme" (hollow of the sandhills), "but now they were all covered again by the sand"; and Knight tells us how all recollection had died out some sixty years later, save the name *Lachta ard*, "the high grave." One very stormy night twenty feet deep of the sand was blown away and the cairn disclosed, "the adjacent plain showing the exposed bones of thousands." Crampton told his friend, Rev. Caesar Otway,<sup>2</sup> that the *Leacht waar Erris* was laid bare in 1811, and before that time old people had pointed out "the place where a monument ought to be." Legend told how a great battle was fought against an invading army from Munster.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland*, vol. xlii., p. 112; vol. xliv., pp. 67, 73. Pococke's *Tour in Ireland*, pp. 90-91. Otway (1841), *Erris and Tyrawly*, pp. 89-92, 95. Knight, *Erris in the Irish Highlands*, p. 110. See also *Proceedings Royal Irish Academy* (Dr. Charles Browne), vol. iii., ser. iii., p. 641.

<sup>2</sup> *Erris and Tyrawly*, pp. 238-241.



The greatest slaughter took place at a hollow called *Lug na fullagh*, the hollow of blood (I presume the *Lugnadumme* of Pococke's book), and the King of Munster fell. Human bones were found in great quantities in the hollow and under the sand-hills. A "semispherical mound" about a mile and a half away was called *Reemooni* (*Rígh Mhuimnigh*, "King of Munster"), and when it was opened a standing skeleton was found in it. O'Donovan tells how the gale uncovered both the *Leacht* and a church, *Cill mór mhathas*, which was forgotten (and I presume buried again in the sands) in 1838, when he wrote. Others said that the skeleton "sat on a stone chair," and had its face turned to the north-east, towards the *Leacht*. Another monument, far down the slope towards the sea, was called the *Leacht na Caillighe* (or Hag's<sup>1</sup> Grave). Its occupant was a powerful enchantress, and wife of a king, whose "three sons and daughter" she transformed into swans. When St. Brendan built his church, *Teampull na bhfear*, on Inisglora the swans used to sit on the roof bowing their heads at the elevation of the Host. At last the saint heard of them and prayed; they resumed their human forms, but on the touch of a sinful man fell into dust. The tale is a variant of that of the children of Lir, and legends that the great promontory forts of Dunminulla and Dun Fiachrach, to the north of the sandhills, were their resting places before the introduction of Christianity are told at those places, and the long creek of Sruffoda Conn was said to have been their favourite haunt. Their bodies are said to have been buried on Inisglora, the princess between two of her brothers, the third and youngest (her favourite) lying in her arms. The only other legend of the battle of Cross known to me is that the peasantry drove their cattle for safety within the great stone rampart of the headland fort of Dunnamò (*Dun na mbo*), "fort of cattle," named from this occurrence.

The other legends of the Pagan period round Cross are few and slight. Dun Fiachrach,<sup>2</sup> besides being a resting place of the swan children, belonged to a great chief, Fiacra, who used to leap his "water horse" across the great chasm between the fortified head-

<sup>1</sup> Literally "the cloaked woman," not at first old or ugly, then a *nun*, then an *old woman*, then a *hag*.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland*, vol. xlii., p. 197.



land and the neighbouring cliff. The *Tain bo Flidhais*<sup>1</sup> names a Fiacra of Dun Fiacrach among the chiefs summoned to the aid of Oilill Finn. It also names the occupants of the other forts in order—"reach his (Fiacra's) *dun* ; stern his valour Fiacra, the fair, of keen blade." "Go to Dunmore (Dunnamo, the 'great fort' of the peninsula) to the three Fosgaman of Iorrus, go to Ferderg in his *dún* (Dundearg in the prose) to the son of Dolar, of vast schemes ; (go) to Dun an aeinfhir, the seat of Dubthach, the black ; from Dun Tuathi (Dundonnell), without violence, invite hither Domnall dual buidhe, the king of mighty deeds ; tell him I am in great straits." As we pass down the coast, where all the *duns* save Dundonnell lie within a reach of less than three miles, we come to Dunaneanir, and hear that Eanir (the one man) used to stride across the chasm into the fort, and are shown his grave.<sup>2</sup> The next fort, Dunadearg, has a similar legend—a popular attempt to explain its simple name ("the dark red fort," derived from its reddish rock) by inventing a "Darrig" who used to leap into it. The "leap" legends<sup>3</sup> predominate at the Mayo cliff forts, and the occupants, even where not called giants, are supposed to be of supernatural size and activity to be able to leap across the gullies at their abodes. As we have seen, the chief Domnall and his steward, Certan, have grown to giants in the folk-tales.

<sup>1</sup> *Celtic Review*.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland*, vol. xlii., p. 204 for Dunaneanir ; p. 201 for Dunnamo ; p. 208 for Dunadearg.

<sup>3</sup> I give them later on in these notes.

(*To be continued.*)

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## REVIEWS.

THE ORĀONS OF CHOTA NĀGPUR : THEIR HISTORY, ECONOMIC LIFE, AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. By SARAT CHANDRA ROY. With an Introduction by A. C. HADDON, M.A., Sc.D., F.R.S., M.R.I.A. Ranchi, 1815.

THIS is the second study of an important Indian tribe made by Mr. Roy, *The Mundas and Their Country*, by the same author, having appeared a few years ago. Both works are of sterling merit, being clearly the result of prolonged and careful observation. In the Introduction to *The Mundas and Their Country*, Sir Edward Gait states that when he was Commissioner of Chota Nāgpur, Mr. Roy was constantly appearing in his court as the sturdy advocate of the Mundas in their disputes with Hindu landlords and moneylenders. As his books indicate, Mr. Roy would thus appear to have a close personal interest in, and affection for, the people of whom he writes, and those who are aware of the extent to which the primitive tribes have suffered, owing to their simplicity and ignorance of legal procedure, in their dealings with the more astute and unscrupulous members of the above classes, will recognise that they could have no better friend than a competent legal advocate. The present volume contains an Introduction by Dr. A. C. Haddon.

The Orāons are one of the principal tribes of the Dravidian family, and they dwell on the Chota Nāgpur plateau. They no doubt came from the south of India to their present home, but in suggesting that the migration took place so long ago as the period of the legendary events of the Rāmāyana, Mr. Roy is, I think, relying on somewhat fanciful arguments. There are reasons for supposing that it was much later, and well in the historical period. The Orāons have been admirably described by Colonel Dalton in the *Ethnology of Bengal*, and by the late Rev.



Father P. Dehon in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.<sup>1</sup> They are apparently a simple, cheerful, industrious and attractive folk, and both these authors, and especially Father Dehon, write of them in very eulogistic terms. Mr. Roy's account is of course much fuller, and he has also avoided a criticism to which both his predecessors to some extent laid themselves open, in that he has not glossed over or omitted their more repulsive habits and customs. This is always a strong temptation to those who are describing savage life, because no author likes to disfigure his account with details which are scarcely fit to print, and frequently also, having lived with them and liked them, he views the people he is describing through rose-tinted glasses. But it seems essential that the temptation should be resisted, because otherwise the moral and social gulf which exists between savagery and civilization, and hence the measure of human progress, tends to be obscured. Mr. Roy's account indicates with sufficient clearness that the daily life and customs of the Orāons are far removed from those of the shepherds and nymphs of classical Arcadia.

An interesting feature is the description of the *khunt* or sub-clan in its relation to the village, and the fact that the members of the *khunt* form a compact whole, standing in a special relation to the village, almost as if they were held to belong and to form part of it, is well brought out. The bones of all members are deposited once a year in the *kundi*, or common burial place, being brought back for this purpose when they have died elsewhere. Food is laid out in the evening for the *manes* of all the dead members of the *khunt*. In the periodical sacrifices offered by the eldest member of the *khunt* even those who have migrated to other villages come together, contribute their share of the expenses, and eat the sacrificial meat together. The detailed account of the *Dhumkuria*, or system of the bachelors' dormitory, adds a number of new and interesting details to those already known. There is practically promiscuous intercourse between boys and girls of the same village before marriage, but it is not considered right that these unions should end in marriage, for which partners are usually obtained from other villages. Mr. Roy finds reason for inferring the former existence among the Orāons of a system of marriage or

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., No. 9, 1906.



union between persons standing to each other in the relation of grandparents and grandchildren, including grand-uncles and aunts. Traces of this custom, as he points out, have been noticed elsewhere, and are also found among the Gonds of the Central Provinces. The accounts of the ceremonial hunting and seasonal dances are also of interest. The totemism of the Orāons is of the normal Indian type, and presents no special features. There are a number of photographs, and among them may be mentioned a good reproduction of the tattoo-marks of an Orāon woman. Altogether Mr. Roy may be congratulated on a detailed and painstaking study of the tribe, which will rank as authoritative, and it may be hoped that this is not the last of his contributions to Indian ethnology.

R. V. RUSSELL.

I record with much regret that the author of this review perished on his voyage to India in the Peninsular and Oriental S.S. "Persia," which was recently destroyed by a German submarine in the Mediterranean. Mr. Russell was a member of the Indian Civil Service, and was attached to the Central Provinces. He was in charge of the Census operations in 1901, and his Report is one of the most interesting in the series. After his work on the Census was completed he was appointed Director of the Ethnographic Survey, and from time to time issued several valuable monographs on the Tribes and Castes of the Province. In 1914 he was invalided to England suffering from a painful disease. During his leisure from official duties he devoted his time to the preparation of an important work on the Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, which has been recently published by the Local Government through Messrs. Macmillan & Co. Mr. Russell was not only an indefatigable field anthropologist, but one widely read in the literature of the subject. In his last great work he has advanced novel views on tribal organization, Totemism, and other questions, which the study of the forest tribes suggested. By his untimely death the Indian Civil Service loses a valued officer, and Folklore and Anthropology an ardent and learned worker. His many friends will regret a charming personality, and will remember his unfailing kindness and readiness to place his stores of knowledge at the service of other workers in the fields in which his interest lay.

W. CROOKE.



## *OBITUARIES.*

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### RT. HON. SIR JOHN RHYS.

ON the 17th December last the world of scholarship suffered a serious loss by the sudden death of Sir John Rhys. He was born in 1840, in Cardiganshire. His parents belonged to that class of yeoman farmers which has produced so many distinguished sons of Wales, few or none of whom have been more greatly gifted, or have rendered more honourable or permanent service to the state and to their fellow-countrymen than Sir John Rhys. Through circumstances little favourable to learning, he fought his way up to the University of Oxford, and there became the first occupant of the Chair when the Professorship of Celtic was established, the Principal of Jesus College, and one of the foremost philologists of his day, an authority whose reputation was everywhere recognized as of the highest rank. The recipient of abundant honours at home and abroad, he preserved to the end his intense sympathy with his Welsh fellow-countrymen in their political and social struggles: he was before all things a Welshman and a patriot. His labours on the various Government Commissions in which he took part from time to time have thrown much light on the history and condition of the Welsh peasantry, and have contributed valuable assistance in dealing with Welsh problems. The same sympathy was a prime condition of his success in his researches on the subject of Welsh folklore. Combined with it, his wide and intimate knowledge of the land, the people, and their history enabled him, not merely to collect their traditions, but to interpret those traditions and the ancient and deeply interesting literature wherein so many of them are embedded, and of which indeed they form an organic part. His Celtic learning was profound.



*Rt. Hon. Sir John Rhys.*

By means of it he disentangled many a ravelled skein of tale and custom on both sides of St. George's Channel. The first results of his field-work were recorded in the early volumes of the *Cymru-rodor*. He subsequently entered on similar enquiries in the Isle of Man, in connection with other work. These labours in the field formed the foundation of the book on *Celtic Folklore*, published in 1901, which may be regarded as his final, though by no means his only, contribution to the science of Folklore. His philological, archaeological, and historical works do not concern us here; but they will always be among the chief pillars of his fame.

For many years Sir John Rhys was a Vice-President of this Society. In 1891 he presided over the section of Myth, Ritual, and Magic at the International Folklore Congress of London. In 1900 he was President of the Anthropological section of the British Association. In 1907 he received the honour of Knighthood, and in 1911 the higher honour of being appointed a member of the Privy Council, in recognition of his many distinguished services to the state. His wit, his geniality, his innate kindness and simplicity of heart endeared him to all who knew him; and they included a distinguished company of scholars in this country and elsewhere. He was happy in his marriage. Lady Rhys shared his interests, and was for many years a companion and helpmate who contributed much to her husband's success, though latterly she had been laid aside by ill-health. Her loss was a blow from which he never seemed to have wholly recovered. The two daughters who survive him are the centre of a wide circle of sorrowing friends for whom he will be an enduring and inspiring memory.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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SIR GEORGE LAURENCE GOMME.

1853-1916.

My friendship with Sir Laurence Gomme dates from 1878, the year of the foundation of the Folk-Lore Society. For myself, the happy result was association with one of kindred tastes, cemented



### *Sir George Laurence Gomme.*

by social intercourse with an amiable and gifted man. It was his reward to see the Society in whose creation he and W. J. Thoms (he died in 1885) took the leading part advance from strength to strength, become the medium of collection of material of incalculable value for study of social evolution (including in the term social, matters intellectual and spiritual) and give the impetus to the foundation of kindred societies in Europe and America.

As manifest in his article on "Folklore" contributed to Dr. Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, he had firm grasp and correct sense of proportion in handling his subject, but when "the fields are white to harvest," the reaper must hasten each to his own plot. And Gomme's interest mainly centred round the study of material, traditional and documentary, bearing on the origin and development of village and municipal life. And this as no dry-as-dust antiquary, but as one revelling in the evidence of continuity in institutions linking the customs of to-day with a remote past. Some of the theories which he formulated were bound to be open to question, because of the uncertainty as to the exact meaning of the materials on which they were based, and the absence of full proof of the racial intercourse on which he laid stress. But so much in so many things is still in the melting-pot, and differences of interpretation in no whit diminish the value of Gomme's work in its suggestiveness. As the eye runs down the list of the books which he has written, and of his miscellaneous contributions to *Folk-Lore* and other scientific journals, all the outcomes, not of learned leisure, but of margins of time wrung from strenuous official duties, the comment is, "Well done, good and faithful servant." In the larger margin which was afforded by his retirement from the high position of Clerk of the London County Council, he had looked forward to completing work interest in which grew with advancing years. *Dis aliter visum*. But, happily for us mortals, they cannot efface what has been accomplished, and for all that Sir Laurence Gomme did in service to the science of folklore we hold him in affectionate and grateful memory.

EDWARD CLODD.



# Folk-Lore.

*TRANSACTIONS OF THE FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.*

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## EVENING MEETINGS.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 15th, 1916.

THE PRESIDENT (DR. R. R. MARETT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the January meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Miss Helen Fox as a new member was announced. The resignation of Miss A. J. Musson was also announced.

A letter from Miss Rhys acknowledging the resolution of condolence on the death of her father, Sir John Rhys, was read and received.

The President reported the death of Sir Laurence Gomme on Saturday, February 26th, and the following resolution, moved by the President and seconded by Mr. Longworth Dames, was carried unanimously, viz:

The friends and co-workers of Sir Laurence Gomme, who form the Folk-Lore Society which he did so much to create and foster (having been Hon. Secretary, then Director, and afterwards President for many years in



succession), desire to put on record their deep sorrow at the fate which has deprived them of personal intercourse with a stimulating leader and ever-ready counsellor, together with their conviction that his work will live on, to guide many a future explorer along those paths which he was amongst the first to tread. They would also venture to offer their sympathy to Lady Gomme, who, in her husband's scientific pursuits, as in all else, proved herself a helpmeet worthy of the respect and homage of all who have been privileged to know them both.

It was further resolved that the foregoing resolution, incorporated in a letter from the President, be inscribed on vellum and sent to Lady Gomme.

Miss D. H. Moutray Read read a paper entitled "Some characteristics of Irish Folk-Lore," and in the discussion which followed, the Chairman, Miss Burne, Miss Hull, and Miss Hussey took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Miss Moutray Read for her paper.

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WEDNESDAY, APRIL 12th, 1916.

DR. A. C. HADDON (VICE-PRESIDENT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Letters of regret for inability to be present at the meeting from Dr. Gregory Foster, Mr. T. Fairman Ordish, and Miss Burne were read and received.

Dr. F. B. Jevons read a paper entitled "Masks and the origin of the Greek Drama," and in the discussion which followed, the Chairman, Sir James Frazer, Dr. Cook, Dr. Seligman, His Honour J. S. Udal, and Miss Freire Marreco took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Jevons for his paper.



WEDNESDAY, MAY 17th, 1916.

THE PRESIDENT (DR. R. R. MARETT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The Secretary read a letter from Lady Gomme acknowledging the letter of condolence on the death of Sir Laurence Gomme sent her by the President pursuant to the resolution passed at the meeting held on March 15th.

The election of Miss N. de L. Willis, Mr. Humphry J. T. Johnson, and Mrs. Scoresby Routledge as members of the Society was announced.

The deaths of Dr. Colley March, Mr. R. V. Russell, and Sir D. P. Masson; the resignations of Miss Ruth Hodson, Sir T. Morrison, and Prof. Van Gennep; and the withdrawal of the subscription of the Cambridge Public Library were also announced.

Miss Blackman read a paper entitled "The Magic Uses of Fire," and in the discussion which followed, the Chairman, Sir James Frazer, Mrs. Scoresby Routledge, Mr. Lovett, His Honour J. S. Udal, Mr. G. R. Carline, and Miss Burne took part.

Mr. Lovett exhibited a number of Fire-making appliances, and His Honour J. S. Udal some photographs illustrating fire customs in the Fiji Islands.

The meeting terminated with hearty votes of thanks to Miss Blackman for her paper, and to Mr. Lovett and His Honour J. S. Udal for their exhibits.



## FOLKLORE OF THE BANYANJA.

BY MADELEINE HOLLAND.

IN the year 1906, shortly before leaving Salisbury, the capital of Mashonaland and Southern Rhodesia, I overheard a young Manyanja boy telling my little son what appeared to be the old tale of Brer Rabbit and the Tar Baby. I questioned him and found that he knew a large number of other tales which, after a little persuasion, he allowed me to take down verbatim. During the two years he had been with us he had been a very silent boy, though gentle and amiable. Now that we were leaving the country he seemed able to reveal his store of tales; but he was rather shy. He told me in all fifty-six stories, using, not his own native Chinyanja speech (a dialect of Central Africa), but the broken-down Zulu so widely spoken in South Africa from Natal to the Zambesi. This language is very useful, especially in Rhodesia, where one's household staff is usually a mixed one and may comprise, for instance, a Matebele, a Shangaan, a Blantyre native and a Mashona or two from different villages; none of these could understand each other without this common medium, which they also use in speaking to us. It has not much grammar, but a larger vocabulary than most white people trouble to learn and of course each tribe that uses it works in a good many of its own words as well. I did not alter nor add to nor in any way shape the stories, endeavouring to take them down as literally as possible. Sometimes, however, in the case of the tedious repetitions in the manner of "The House that



Jack Built" I have condensed them into a phrase. This will be apparent.

The boy's name was Cleopa; but I do not know his tribal name. He was a lad whose voice was just beginning to break. He could neither read nor speak English, and he assured me that he had not gathered any tales except from the Banyanja. I asked him if all his people knew so many tales, and he said no; that they were rather amused at his fondness for them; that some could not tell any stories, and some only one or two, never more than a small number; but that he liked them and had collected them from one and another of the old people. I think he and his own brothers (children of one father and mother) were particularly intelligent. Of those who worked for me one had a good ear for music and sang well; the other had a gift for speech-making.

#### THE RABBIT AND THE GUM MAN.

There was a Man and he had a garden. Every day the Rabbit came and ate his plants. The Man said to him, "Why do you eat my garden? Let it alone!" but the Rabbit came every day and ate there.

Then the Man collected gum from the trees, many baskets full, and he made it into something like a man, and he put the Gum Man in the garden. Then he put some bread beside him and some meat and some beer.

By and bye the Rabbit came to eat in the garden and he saw all these things. He stopped and looked at them all.

He said, "What is all this food?"

Gum Man said nothing.

The Rabbit took the bread and ate it, and said, "Give me the meat!"

Gum Man said nothing.

The Rabbit took the meat and ate it, and said, "Give me the beer!"



Gum Man said nothing.

The Rabbit took the beer and drank it. Then he said, "Why don't you answer me when I speak to you?"

The Gum Man said nothing.

The Rabbit got angry and said, "All right, if you don't answer me, I'll beat you!"

The Gum Man said nothing, so the Rabbit hit him with one hand.

His hand stuck fast, so he hit him with the other hand. It stuck fast too.

He kicked him with one foot, it stuck fast; he kicked him with the other, and that stuck fast too. Now he could not get away at all.

Now comes the Man, and the Rabbit pretends to be dead. He lies down quite still.

The Man says, "You are dead now!" and gives him to his child to take home and cook for dinner.

While the Boy was taking him home, the Rabbit says, "Why are you taking me to your home?"

The Boy says, "My brother says I must take you home and cook you for dinner!"

The Rabbit says, "No, I am a brother of his, and he said you must cook some dinner for me."

So the Boy cooked the dinner for him, and gave him a fowl to take home with him too.

When the Man came home he said, "Where is the Rabbit I told you to cook for my dinner?"

The Boy says, "No! he said he was your brother and that I must cook dinner and give it to him, so I did so!"

### THE MAGIC HEAD.

A Picanin went to fish. He put bait on his hook, threw it into the river, and he caught a fish and put it in a bag. All that day he fished, but did not catch another so he stopped and said, "I shall not fish any more to-day."



Then he looked into his bag to see his fish, and it was the head of a guinea fowl.

He went on the road home and took the bag with him, with the head of the guinea fowl in it.

By and bye he met his brothers.

They said, "Have you seen our goat? It was grazing, and now we cannot find it."

He said, "No, I have been fishing all day, and I only caught one fish, and now it has turned into the head of a guinea fowl."

They said, "Let us see," and they looked in, and it was the head of a goat.

They said, "You are a liar, you have killed our goat and this is its head."

They were very angry, and they took him back to the village, and said to the mother, "Our goat was grazing close to where he was fishing and he killed it; the head is in this sack."

She said, "I want to see it."

They opened the sack and showed what was in it. It was the head of his father.

Then all went away and left him all alone in that place.

He never saw his father again.

#### INGOMO (THE ANIMALS).

Long ago all the animals had no tails. They all met together, and said, "How shall we get tails?" One of them said, "Over there, far off, there lives a Koodoo; he can tell us." The Elephant said, "I will go and ask him." So he went to the Koodoo's home singing:

*"Ti titi ba tui.*

I have come to buy a tail, now the sun is shining.

*Ti titi ba tui (twice).*

*Ti titi ba."*



When he saw the Koodoo he told him that all the animals wanted tails. The Koodoo said, "Look in that box." There were many boxes. He looked in the one the Koodoo showed him and it was full of eyes. He said, "What is this?" and the Koodoo said, "When anyone sleeps here he takes his eyes out and puts them in that box and he takes them out again when he wants them." The Elephant said, "We only want tails." The Koodoo said, "Very well, go back to your friends and say *Mjarre*" (the name of a certain kind of tree) "and then the tails will come." The Elephant went back; but on the road he forgot the word. When he came to the animals they said, "What have you seen?" And he said, "I saw a Koodoo, and he told me a word. When I say it your tails will come; but now I have forgotten the word." They said, "Think a little." So he thought and he said, "*Treve*" (another tree), but no tails came. Then the Eland said, "I will go and ask the Koodoo."

So the Eland went to the house of the Koodoo singing, "*Ti, titi, ba tui*," etc.

When he spoke to the Koodoo it said, "Ah! Ah! Why do you ask me? Did not the Elephant tell you?" He said, "No. You told him, but he forgot the word on the way home." So the Koodoo told the Eland. The Eland went home; but on the road he forgot the word.

The animals said, "Well, well, what is the word?" but he had forgotten it. Then another animal went; but he forgot it too; all of them went and all forgot it. At last the Tortoise said he would go. The Elephant said, "Ah! Ah! Did not I forget? I am big and you are too small." The Tortoise said, "All the same I shall not forget." The Elephant said, "Very well, I shall build a big fire, and if you forget I shall throw you in and burn you." The Tortoise went and asked the Koodoo, who told him the word. All the way back he kept saying the name, because he was so afraid of forgetting it. When he reached the



beasts he said, "*Mjarre*," and every one of them got a tail!

Then all the animals were thirsty and wanted to drink, and they went about looking for water. One of them said, "I saw an animal go up into the mountain to get water." The Hippo said he would go to ask it, so he went up the mountain singing :

" *Ti, titi ba tui.*

I have come to ask for water, now the sun is shining.

*Ti, titi ba tui* (twice).

*Ti, titi ba.*"

He found the animal and it said, "What do you want?" He said, "We want water." It said, "There is very little water here; but if you go back to your friends and say *Katcheni!*" (the name of another tree) "then water will come for you all to drink." The Hippo went back; but on the way he forgot the name and when they asked him he could not remember it. Then the Elephant went; but he too forgot it; the Eland also went, and he forgot it; and so with all the other beasts. At last the little Tortoise went and he remembered it and they had plenty of water.

#### THE IRON WORKER.

There were two brothers. One was a Man who gives advice and the other a Worker in iron. The Man who gives advice was poor and the Iron Worker was rich. The Man who gives advice told his brother, "You had better tell everyone you cannot work any more." The brother said, "No, I shall not do that." So the other said, "All right, it is your affair." Then a Chief sent a great quantity of iron and said, "It must all be made up to-day or I will kill you." The Iron Worker worked hard; but he used up all his wood and he saw he could not finish that day. So he went to his brother and said, "What shall I do? They will kill me." The brother said, "I told you so. Now,



give these messengers your big pot and tell them to go and tell the Chief that your well is dry and so you cannot get on with your work ; but that if his people shed tears into the pot it will get full of water immediately and then you can finish your work when they bring it back to you." The Iron Worker said, "Very well." He gave the men the pot, and told them to tell that to their Chief. They took the pot to their Chief and told him everything. He said, "I have never heard of this; come and do it." They shed tears into the pot; but the tears sank in and dried up at once and there was no water at all in the pot. The Chief sent them back to the Iron Worker to tell him they could not make the pot full of water by shedding tears into it. So he said, "Very well, how can I finish my work if I have no water?" So he was not killed.

NOTE.—Cleopa said "The Man who gives advice" is the same as Mr. X. or Mr. Y., mentioning various lawyers in Salisbury.

#### TAMBALLANKULILANJI (COCK THAT CROWS IN THE MORN).

There was a woman and she went to gather wood in the fields. A Tiger came and wanted to eat her; but she said, "Don't eat me; come to-night and eat my child." She went home and took her little boy (he was called TamballankulilANJI) and she put him in a pot without any water and set him on the fire. This was to make him wise. That night the Tiger came. The Mother told it, "Come and wait on the verandah of my Picanin's house, and I will cook his food in my house and then call him to come and get it. When he is coming across you can come and catch him." The Tiger came and waited and the Mother cooked the Picanin's food and then called him. The boy turned himself into a mouse and ran under the door; he ate his food and then ran back under the door. The Tiger did not catch him, so he told the Mother. The Mother



said, "Come to-morrow night and wait. I will tell him to set a trap for a mouse in the verandah and when you come I will call to him and tell him that a mouse is caught, then you can catch him." He came that night and the Mother called to the Picanin and said, "A mouse is caught in your trap, come out and get it." The Picanin said, "When I hear the sound of the trap acting three times over then I will come out." The Tiger made a noise like the snare acting three times over. The Picanin said, "I will not come out, for I only set one trap. It would not go off three times."

Then the Tiger was angry and he said to the woman, "How can I eat your child?" She said, "Come again to-morrow, and I will tie you up loosely in a bundle of thatch; and I will tell the Picanin to carry in the bundle, and then you can jump out and catch him easily." Next day she said to the boy, "I have left a bundle of thatch behind in the road; it was too heavy for me to carry; go and fetch it." So he went (but not very near to the bundle), and said, "When the bundle stands up and lies down three times I will take it up and carry it." The Tiger heard him from inside the bundle; so he stood up on his hind legs and lay down three times over. The boy ran away. The Mother said, "What is the matter?" He said, "The bundle stood up and lay down; thatch cannot do that. I shall not carry it."

The Tiger came to her again and said, "How am I to eat your child?" She said, "All right; I shall send him to get fruit in my garden, and you can hide under the bushes and catch him." The Tiger hid himself in the bushes and she gave the boy a basket and told him to go and collect fruit. He left the basket outside the garden and turned himself into a bee and pretended to sip honey from the flowers; but really he was gathering the fruit, which he put in his basket and took home.

The Tiger did not see him and so it did not catch him. Then the Mother said, "All right; I will send him to



gather honey in a tree and you can catch him easily when he comes down." When the boy had climbed the tree he looked down and saw the Tiger waiting for him. He said, "No, you shall not catch me; I will never come down." So the Tiger got an axe and began to chop down the tree. The tree was nearly cut through and began to fall, but a little Bird that passed said, "Tree, do not fall!" so it stopped falling. The Tiger chopped it through again; but every time the Bird said, "Tree, do not fall!" so it remained standing.

When the boy wanted to come down he called very loud and one of his dogs came from the kraal up to the tree and the Tiger ate it. The Picanin called again and another dog came and the Tiger ate it. One after one it ate the Picanin's dogs. When the Tiger was gorged it lay still and the Picanin came down and killed it.

He went back to his Mother and said, "I have killed the Tiger," and she was very glad.

He said, "Why did you tell the Tiger to kill me?" She said, "No; he wanted to eat me, so I told him to eat you."

#### THE HARE AND THE LION CUBS.

A Lion had three Cubs and the Hare took care of them. Every day the Lion brought meat for the Hare and the Cubs. The Hare ate the meat and when the Cubs cried he beat them. The Lion came and said, "What is it?" The Hare said, "They are crying because they want eggs." The Lion went and got eggs. The Hare ate the eggs and when the Cubs cried he beat them again. The Lion came and said, "What is it?" The Hare said, "They are crying because they want fowls." The Lion went and brought fowls and the Hare ate the meat and gave the Cubs the bones. Then the Hare said, "It would be nice if I took them to play on the river bank." The Lion said, "Very well." The Hare took them up the



further bank and said, "Let me pull against one of you, and the one that falls down is to be eaten by the other." He made the one Cub take hold of his hands and pull and the Cub fell down and he ate it. The Lion came on the opposite bank and said, "Lift up the Cubs ; I want to count them." The Hare lifted up the first and then the second and then he lifted up the first again. The Lion said, "All right ; that's all," and went away. Then the Hare made the other Cub pull against him ; when he fell down himself he said, "That was not fair ; I had not taken hold properly." They pulled again and when the Cub fell over he killed and ate it. The Lion came again and said, "Lift up the Cubs again ; I want to count them." The Hare lifted the same one up three times, and the Lion said, "All right ; that's all," and went away. Then the Hare pulled against the third Cub, killed it and ate it and when the Lion came back he did not answer him ; he ran far away and hid himself.

Afterwards the Hare got tired of hiding for fear of the Lion, so he went out one day and found a number of Monkeys spinning tops. He said, "Why don't you sing when you spin tops?" They said, "What shall we sing?" He said, "Sing :

'We have killed the Cubs of the Lion !' "

They said, "Yes, that is nice," and they sang it. The Hare went to the Lion and said, "I have heard the Monkeys singing that they have killed your children." Then he told the Lion to get into a bundle of thatch, which he tied loosely, and he carried him to the place where the Monkeys were. Then he said to the Monkeys, "Let us spin tops." So they brought out the tops and the Monkeys sang :

"We have killed the Cubs of the Lion" (twice).

The Hare sang :

"Have you listened to my bundle?"

They sang again :

"We have killed the Cubs of the Lion" (twice).



The Hare sang :

“Have you listened to my bundle?”

The Lion came out of the bundle of thatch and killed all the Monkeys.

#### THE LION HUNTER.

There was a Man who used to kill many lions. Always he only took mealies and went out a long way till he found a Lion making its fire and then he used to sit down and say, “When you have finished cooking your mealies may I cook mine?” The Lion would say “Yes,” and both sat down at the fire. By and bye the Lion says, “I want to go and drink water now; how do I know you will not eat my food while I am away?” The Man says, “Tie my legs and leave me here.” The Lion ties his legs, and when he comes back he says to the Man, “Aha! shall I kill you now or shall I let you loose?” The Man says, “All right, if you want to kill me, do so; if you want to let me loose, all right, do so.” The Lion says, “All right, I will let you loose.”

By and bye the Man wants to drink water. So he says to the Lion, “How do I know you will not eat my food while I am away?” The Lion says, “Tie my legs and leave me here.” The Man ties his legs and when he comes back he says to the Lion, “Aha! shall I kill you now or shall I let you loose?” The Lion says, “All right, if you want to kill me, do so; if you want to let me loose, all right, do so.” The Man says, “All right, I will kill you.”

By and bye his hut was full of lion skins. Then other men wanted to kill lions; but they did not know the way he managed. One man took a gun and went to shoot a lion; but he did not kill it; he only wounded it, and it killed him. Then the others came to the Man and said, “How do you kill lions? Our brother has been eaten.” He said, “It has nothing to do with me; he was a fool.”



## THE CUNNING HARE.

There was a Man who had often tried to get the Hare and kill him. One day he caught him and said, "Now, I have got you!" and tied him up to a tree and went to get some fire. He wanted to set all the grass round about alight and then the Hare would be burnt too. The Hare sat quiet until he saw a Jackal coming down the road; then he began to call out very loud. The Jackal said, "What is the matter?" The Hare said, "That man *will* go and get meat to feed me; and I don't know how to eat it." The Jackal said, "All right, if you don't like it, come away and tie *me* up where you are, because I am hungry for meat." He loosened the Hare and the Hare tied him up in his place.

By and bye a crowd came back with the Man shouting, "We'll burn you!" The Jackal says, "What are they shouting?" The Hare says, "They are saying they are bringing a great deal of meat." After the grass was burnt, the people found the body of the Jackal; but the Hare ran away.

Another time the Man caught him and shut him up in a hut and told his Picanins to watch the hut while he went to get fire to burn it down with the Hare inside. While the father was away the Children heard the Hare saying, "Can you eat meat like that your mother has given me?" The Children say, "No." So he says, "It is very good; come in and try. Open the door and come in." They open the door and he goes out and when they are in he shuts them up. The Man comes back with the fire and burns the hut. The one Child says, "I am not a Hare, father; I am your child"; but the Man says, "No, I know you are the Hare." The other cries out his own name, but the Man will not listen and burns them and the Hare laughs.



## THE WOOD PIGEON AND THE LOCUST.

There was a man and he caught a Wood Pigeon and he put it in a cage. When he went out to work he left the bird at home and he told his Child never to open the door. The first day the Child called all his friends to see it. It sang to them:

“Coo coo, coo coo, coo coo !  
My brother told me to eat the fruit.  
I said no,  
Now I am caught,  
I mourn, I mourn, I mourn.”

Next day the Child called his friends to come again and the bird sang again : “Coo coo,” etc.

The third day the children came again to listen and the bird sang the song again. The Child opened the cage and the bird flew out. All the children followed it to the shores of a great lake. It flew over and they were left behind. Only the Child himself saw a spider fasten his thread to the shore and run over the lake to fasten it on the other side. The Child went over on the thread but the bird came back. He came back and caught it. He also caught a monstrous Locust and took both of them home and he met his Father and told him, “I have caught the bird.” The Father said, “Well for you that you did so, or I would have killed you !” Then he asked to see the Locust and the Child gave it to him to look at. It slipped out of his hands and flew away. The Child said, “Go and find it as I found your bird, or I shall do to you as you said you would do to me.” The Father pursued the Locust; but he could not catch it, for it took one flight after another. He wandered far, always pursuing the Locust, for he dared not come back to the Child.

## THE TWO BROTHERS.

Once there was a man and he had two sons and he gave each of them some work. He set the one to making plates of clay, and the other he sent into the veldt to kill game.



This one used to laugh at his Brother and would not give him any meat, saying, "You are a fool; you do not know how to kill game." One day the Brother who made the plates said, "Do not go up that hill; it is bad. I have known it a long time."

The Brother said, "You are not to tell me whether I am to go. I will go."

He went up the hill and saw a buck running up it; he followed it and on the top he came to a great Snake; its mouth was wide open and bees went in and out making honey in its mouth.

The Boy said, "What is this? Never have I seen bees hiving in a snake's mouth."

The Snake said, "You have never seen this before? All right, you shall never go away again."

So the Boy died.

One of his brothers had followed him and saw the buck go up the hill and he saw his Brother die; so he went back to the village and told it.

All the brothers went to the one who was making plates and said, "Your brother is dead." He said, "Yes, I told him not to go." They said, "Go and look for him;" but he said, "No."

After three days he went up to where the Snake was and he took an axe and chopped at a stone and drew a bark rope from it.

The Snake said, "Never before have I seen this, anyone chopping at a stone and drawing a bark rope from it."

The Brother said, "You have never seen this before? All right, you shall never go away again."

Now the Snake died, and the Brother became alive again.

#### THE MISSING CAMEL.

There was a Man. He walked along a road and he thought to himself, "A camel has been here, blind of an



eye, lame in one leg, with some teeth missing, laden on one side with corn and one side with honey." He met two men who said, "Have you seen a camel?" He said, "Was it blind of an eye, lame in one leg, with some teeth missing, laden on one side with corn and one side with honey?" They said, "Yes, have you seen it?" He replied, "No, I have not." They said he was a thief and that he had stolen their camel and they took him to be tried. They said, "This man knows all about what our camel is like and what it was carrying; but he says he has not seen it." So the Man said, "I could see by the track on the road that a camel had gone by and the track of one foot was light, so I knew the camel was lame; it only ate the grass on one side of the road, so I knew it was blind; it left little pieces of grass where it grazed, so I knew it had lost some teeth. I knew it had corn and honey on its pack, because there were ants on one side of the road and flies on the other side picking up what had fallen." The people who were trying him did not know what to say. So the Man said, "Wait and see if the camel comes back soon." They waited and by and bye the camel came back. So they said, "All right, we see now that you did not steal it."

#### THE TIGER AND THE TRAP.

There was a Man and he set a snare for catching game. One day he took his child and went to look at it and there was a Tiger caught in the trap. He was afraid and wanted to run away; but the Tiger said, "Don't be afraid, I won't hurt you; only let me go."

The Man said, "No, you will kill me!" but the Tiger said, "I tell you, I will not hurt you at all." Then the Man let it loose. "Now," it said, "I have been in your trap all night; I have eaten nothing; give me your child to eat." The Man gave it his child and the Tiger ate it. Then he said, "Now I will eat you!" The Man ran away



and the Tiger ran after him. They ran a long way and at last they came to a Hare's garden. The Hare cried out, "Take care! Why do you run so hard? You will break down my plants. Wait a little!" The Man waited and the Tiger came up. The Hare said, "What is this indaba (affair)?" and the Man said, "This Tiger was caught in my trap and he promised that if I let him go it would be all right. I let him out and he ate my child and now he wants to eat me. So I ran away and now we have come here."

The Hare said, "We ought to go back to the place where the trap is so that I can see it."

They went back, all three, and the Man showed him the trap.

The Hare looked at the trap and then he said to the Tiger, "I ought to see how you were caught in this trap." The Tiger said, "It was like this," and he went into the snare again.

The Hare said to the Man, "All right, this time do not let him out."

So the Tiger stayed there and by and bye he died.

#### MAKOMBE.

Makombe and his two brothers went out for a walk one day. They came to the stump of a tree, where a tree had been felled. It struck Makombe's pot and he took a stone and struck at it. When it grew late the three wanted to return; when they came to this spot there was a great river in flood and a Duck was swimming on it, smoking a pipe. One of them asked him, "How can we get across, because the river has come down in flood?" He answered, "No, you were the one who struck the stump with a stone." He said, "No, that was Makombe." The Duck said, "Very well, take hold of my wing." He had one wing which was strong; but the other was wounded. The boy held the



wing, and the Duck carried him over. Then he let the other boy hold his strong wing and took him over too. When it came to Makombe's turn the Duck said, "Take hold of the wounded wing"; but Makombe said, "No, I shall fall in the river!" The Duck said, "No, I shall take care of you." So Makombe held the wounded wing and the Duck said, "Don't tell anyone about my wing" and he said, "All right"; so the Duck took him across. When he went home the Duck followed him and heard him say at supper, "I don't want to eat anything; the duck who took me over the water made me hold his wounded wing and it was gangrened." Next day the boys went out again for a walk. When they came to that place there was no river, only the tree stump. It knocked against Makombe's pot, and he turned and struck it with a stone. When they came back to that spot the river was in flood again and the Duck was swimming on it, smoking a pipe. The brothers asked the Duck to take them across and it took the two others across; but left Makombe and would not take him. So he waited on the river bank. It grew dark and all his brothers had gone home. A Mosquito came and spoke in his ear; it said, "If you want to go home, go up that mountain; there lives a man there; but you must call him by his name, 'Chingangara.' He doesn't like people who do not know his name." Makombe went and found the man and asked him to take him home. The man said, "You know me? what is my name?" Makombe said, "Chingangara"; so the man said, "Very well," and took him home. Again he told his brothers at supper about how he got home.

Next day they went out again; they passed the stump again and it knocked against Makombe's pot, so he struck it with a stone. When they came back the river was in flood and the Duck was sitting on it, smoking a pipe. He took the two brothers across but he would not take Makombe. Makombe waited until it was dark; but he



could not remember the name of Chingangara. Finally he asked the Duck again to take him across and the Duck said, "Very well, hold the bad wing." So he held the bad wing and the Duck let him drop in the water and he was drowned.

#### THE LITTLE RED MAN.

There were two children and they went to catch a mouse. They found a little hole in the ground and they began to dig it deeper. They dug for a long time and by and bye they had dug out a great deal of earth and then suddenly they found a little creature like a man; but small and red like the ground. They ran away to their home; but he ran after them; he was very angry and he sang:

*"Dandea, dandea, dandea!"*

What children are these?

They have dug me up from my home,  
I will go with them to their home.

*Dandea!"*

The children shut themselves up in their hut; but he was there too. They ran to another hut and shut themselves in it; but he was there too. They killed him and burned him in the fire like a log; but he was there again. They killed him and tied him up in a bundle and threw him away; but he was there, back again. Then they put him in a hut and burned the hut down; but he came back to them. Now they could not eat because he used to torment them when they wanted to take their food, saying, "Why did you take me from my home?" and singing, "Dandea (etc., etc.)." They were very frightened and tried very often to kill him; but they could not. At last they told their big brothers. The brothers took him and threw him in a river and drowned him; but he came back again. By and bye the two children were sick because he never let them eat. So the brothers put them and



the Red Thing into a hut and burnt them all together, and that finished it.

#### THE ANIMALS AND THE MEALIES.

There was a man and he made a garden and planted mealies in it. He did not stop to take care of them; they came up by themselves and grew to a great height. The animals heard about it and said, "Let us go and see those mealies and eat them." When they got there a Butterfly who was hidden among the mealies said, "Do not eat the mealies; many many animals have died of doing so." It sang:

"I beat the drum, I beat the drum, lest ye hear not.  
Here many many animals have been killed.  
Lest ye hear not, I beat again the drum,  
Lest you hear not."

So they ran away and told the others. The others said, "It is a pity not to get those mealies; let us wait here and send someone." The Rhinoceros said he would go first. He went to the garden, but the Butterfly sang:

"I beat the drum, I beat the drum, lest ye hear not.  
Here another Rhinoceros has been killed.  
Lest you hear not," etc.

The Rhinoceros ran away so fast that he broke his leg and he would not go again.

Then the Elephant went and the Butterfly sang:

"I beat the drum, etc.  
Here another Elephant has been killed.  
Lest you hear not," etc.

The Elephant ran away so fast through the forest that a tree tore his trunk right off and he would not go again.

The Eland went, and other animals, but all were



frightened away by the Butterfly. At last the Hare went, and the Butterfly sang :

“ I beat the drum, etc.

Here another Hare has been killed.”

So the Hare ran away. Then the Tortoise said, “ I will go !” The Elephant said, “ You are too little !” but he went and was not frightened. The Butterfly sang its song, so it looked for the Butterfly and found it and brought it back to the animals. It said, “ This is the person whose voice we heard.” So they all killed the Butterfly, and then they went to eat the mealies.

When they had eaten all the mealies they were very thirsty. The Tortoise said, “ Let us dig a big water hole,” and they all said, “ Yes ”; but the Hare said, “ No, I will go and find my own.” So he went; but the others dug and soon had plenty of water. When they had all drunk enough they said, “ One must stay by the water and see that the Hare does not come back and take it.” So the Rhinoceros said he would wait. The Hare saw what a quantity of water there was and so he came back with honey, crying, “ Who wants honey ?” The Rhinoceros said, “ I want some,” so the Hare gave him some in a bottle. The Rhinoceros said, “ Give me some more.” The Hare had some more in a pot and he said to the Rhinoceros, “ All right, put your head in the pot.” The Rhinoceros did so, and the Hare pulled a string fastening it round his neck and then he drank as much water as he wanted. Next day the Elephant said he would guard the water. The Hare brought his honey and the Elephant did as the Rhinoceros had done. Other animals came; but the Hare tricked them all. At last the Tortoise went; the Hare came along crying, “ Who wants honey ?” but the Tortoise stayed in his shell and did not listen. The Hare said, “ There is no one here,” and went to drink the water; but the Tortoise came quickly out of his shell and caught him.



The animals came back and the Tortoise cried, "Here he is!" They were very glad and said they would kill him. The Elephant held him; but not tight enough, so he ran away until he came to a great river and he turned himself into a stick. The Elephant chased him and when he came to the river he said, "If I had the Hare, I would kill him with this stick," and he picked up the stick and threw it across the river. It turned into the Hare again and he sat on the river bank and laughed at the Elephant.

#### MLAMBE AND THE THREE CHILDREN.

Three children went to play on the veldt and they went very far. By and bye the rain came and they went under a big tree. It had a hollow trunk like a hut and the children went inside and waited; but the rain did not stop. It went on raining and by and bye the opening in the trunk shut up and the children were inside and could not get out. They remained shut up in the trunk for a month. One day a man from another kraal came to cut bark to make rope. He came to the big tree and struck it with his axe. Then he heard the voices of the children saying:

"Who is chopping the tree? O Man!  
When you go home, tell them, O Man!  
Tell them the children are there, O Man!  
In the tree, Mlambe, O Man!"

He tried to chop open the tree to get the children out; he wanted to kill them; they were not his brothers (*i.e.* of the same tribe); but he could not find the hollow. So he returned to his kraal without any bark. His brothers asked him why he had not brought any and he said he could not find the proper kind of tree.

Next day he went again to the tree and chopped at it a long time, trying to find the children, because he wanted to kill them; but he could not find the hollow.



When the children heard the axe strike the tree they sang :

“Who is striking the tree? O Man!” etc.

He could not find them, so he went home. Next day he went again to the tree. A brother of the three children saw him going and followed him. He saw him chop the tree and heard the children singing :

“Who is chopping the tree?” etc.

The man could not find the hollow. The brother came up and said, “What are you doing?” He said, “Only getting bark.” The brother said, “What are the voices in the tree?” He said, “Nothing.” So the brother went and brought all his brothers, a great crowd; they cut the tree and found the hollow and took the children out. But they killed Mlambe.

#### THE MAN AND THE COW'S TAIL.

There was a Man and he was very powerful; no one could fight him. A Chief sent out a whole army against him; the Man armed himself with a Cow's tail which he kept in a box; he waved it when the army came and they fell dead. He sang this song :

“Man who is in the house, Nawanje,  
Give me the tail, Nawanje,  
I want to kill ten men.  
Nawanje, Nawanje, Nawanje.”

Each time he waved the Cow's tail and said “Nawanje” ten men fell dead.

The Chief and his wise men counselled together and one said, “Tell the Mole that burrows underground to make a tunnel into the Man's house and to steal the tail.” So the Mole tunnelled under the house and came up through the floor into the box in which the Cow's tail



was and he stole the tail and dragged it away with him. Then the Chief sent another army and when the Man opened his box to get the Cow's tail, it was gone. So they killed him.

(A cow's tail is part of a witch doctor's outfit.)

#### THE BOY AND THE ELEPHANT'S LEGS.

Once there was a Boy who had no legs. His brother used to take him to the river bank every day and leave him in the shade with a basket of mealies beside him. One day an Elephant came and said, "Let me eat your mealies and I will lend you my front legs; but you must come back and return them to me to-day." The Boy said, "All right," so he gave the Elephant all the mealies and it lent him its front legs. He put them on and jumped all about and sang:

"A great Chief is the Elephant,  
He has lent me his legs, He has lent me his legs,  
What! what! (*laughing*) *Chata! Chata! Chata!* (*leaping*)  
He has lent me his legs, He has lent me his legs."

Next day his brother said, "How is it that you ate up all the mealies?" He said, "I did not eat them, an Elephant came and asked for them and said he would lend me his legs for one day, so I gave him my mealies and he lent me his legs and I gave them back to him again when the sun was going down." The brother said, "Next time, run home with your legs and don't give them back." So next time the Elephant came and asked for the mealies, he lent the Boy his legs and the Boy sang:

"A great Chief is the Elephant," etc.;

but he ran away home with the legs and the brothers killed the Elephant.



## THE HARE, THE MAN, AND THEIR MOTHERS.

There was a Hare and he was the friend of a Man. One day the Hare said, "Let us kill our mothers, then we shall both be free." The Man thought it would be good, so he killed his mother. The Hare did not kill his mother; he only took his knife and stabbed at a plant with red juice till his knife was red, then he showed it to the Man and said, "With this knife I killed her." The Man thought she was dead, because he never saw her again; but the Hare had put her up in the sky. Every day he used to go by himself and she used to let down a rope and pull him up and give him food. The Man had no one to feed him. He saw that the Hare was very fat and asked him who fed him. The Hare said, "No one." Then the Man watched him and saw how he went to a certain place and said, "Cast down the rope," and a rope came down and he climbed up. So the next day the Man went and said, "Cast down the rope"; but his voice was too loud. The Hare's mother knew it was not her child. So then the Hare came and the Man hid away and listened. He heard the Hare say softly, "Cast down the rope," and the rope came down and the Hare climbed up. Another day the Man went and said very softly, "Cast down the rope," and the Hare's mother thought it was her son, so she let down the rope and the Man went up. He killed the Hare's mother and all the Hare's little ones; only one remained alive. Then he went away. When the Hare came he found the rope hanging: he went up and saw that his mother and all his little ones were dead except one small hare. He asked it, "Who has done this?" and it said, "Your friend the Man." The Hare went to his hut and wept. The Man came in and found him weeping and said, "What is the matter? why do you weep?" He said, "The sun is hurting my eyes." Next day he went and got red stones and heated them in a pot. He told the



Man, "I have found a place where there is plenty of game. Lie in the road, open your mouth and shut your eyes and I will throw it in." The Man lay down in the road, opened his mouth and shut his eyes and the Hare threw the stones down his throat and killed him.

### KANJINJETE.

Once there was a Picanin; his mother was dying and she spoke to him and said, "When I am dead, go to my brother's home in such a place and he will take care of you."

When she was dead he went to find his uncle's home and took another boy with him. When they came to the river the other boy said, "I will carry you." When he had carried him he said, "Let me try your clothes on." So the Picanin said the other boy might try on his clothes for a little time; but he must give them back. He kept them on until they got to the uncle's home. Everyone believed that he was the child of the sister who had died, and they were very kind to him; but they made the Picanin sleep in the goat's house and by day he had to drive away the birds from the crops.

Every day he used to sing:

"Kanjinjete, Kanjinjete! cha! mbaram!  
 Kanjinjete, Kanjinjete! my mother told me when she was  
 dying,  
 Kanjinjete, Kanjinjete! go to the mountain,  
 Kanjinjete, Kanjinjete! there is my brother!  
 Kanjinjete, Kanjinjete! his name is Maiwaz.  
 Kanjinjete, Kanjinjete! cha! mbaram! Kanjinjete!"

(This is a very sad and languid little melody.)

Then one big crow used to come near and sing:

"Di, di! my child is weary,  
 Di, di! because of this work!"



The crows kept away so well that people did not know how the Picanin could drive them away; one day a boy went quietly to listen how he did it, because he did it so nicely. He listened and heard him singing:

“Kanjinjete,” etc.

The boy went back home and told them, “The boy whom you have taken to be the son of her who is dead is not the right one, it is he who drives away the birds.” So they called him and asked him if he was the son of the sister who died and he said, “Yes, it is so.” They said, “Why did you not tell us?” and he said, “When I saw you all thought it was the other one, I said nothing.” So they took him, but they killed the other boy.

NOTE.—“Kanjinjete!” and “cha!” are exclamations meaning “Go away.” “Mbaram” means “birds.”

#### THE MAN AND THE HARE.

There was a Man and also a Hare. They worked together at one garden. By and bye it was time to eat, and the Man cooked the food. The Hare said, “I want to go to the river and drink. When I come back we shall eat together.” He went down to the river and then he got out of his skin. He went back to the garden singing:

“Psu, psu! Psu, psu!  
Red, red! Red, red!  
I am a little red creature without a skin!  
Psu, psu!”

The Man was very much afraid and ran away. The Hare ate half the food and then he went back and got into his skin again and then he went back to the garden. He found the Man there with the rest of the food. He said to the Man, “Where is the half of the food? you have eaten it!” The Man said, “No, but while you were away a red ‘skellum’ (evil beast) came and ate it.” The Hare



said, "No, you are a liar, you ate it," and he ate up the half which remained.

Next day they worked again in the garden. By and bye the Man cooked the food and the Hare said, "I want to go down to the river to drink. When I come back we shall eat together." He went down to the river and as before he got out of his skin and went back to the garden singing, "Psu, psu!" etc.

The Man ran away again and the Hare ate half the food as he had done the day before and went back and put his skin on again. By and bye he came up from the river and said, "Again you have eaten half the food!" The Man said, "No, it was an evil red beast who came and ate it and I was afraid and ran away." The Hare said, "You are a liar; you ate it yourself." The Man said, "No."

Next day the Man cooked the food as before and the Hare said, "I want to go down to the river first; shall I give you a bow and arrow to shoot that beast if it comes?" The Man said, "Yes, that is good." So the Hare gave him a bow and arrow; but he had cut a notch in the arrow and in the bow-string. When he came back without his skin the Man shot at him; but the bow and arrow broke and the Man ran away again. The Hare came back, and the Man told him that the bow and arrow had broken and that the beast had eaten the food again; but the Hare said "No." Next day the Hare gave the Man another bow and arrow and the Man took it; but when the Hare had gone down to the river the Man put it away and took his own. When the Hare came back without its skin the Man shot him in the eye and the Hare ran away. Then he put on his skin and came back again. He said, "To-day you have not eaten the food! Did you kill the beast? where is he?" The Man said, "No, I did not kill him; but I shot him in the eye and he ran away." The Hare said, "Don't look at my eye; I hurt it with a bit of wood!" The Man



said, "No, I only say I shot him in the eye." The Hare would not eat any food, because he said his eye was sore. The Man ate it all. Then the Hare played a tom-tom and the Man sang, "*I shot him in the eye,*" and the Hare sang, "*I ate up all the food.*" Then they went back to the garden but the Man said he would not work any more with the Hare.

#### MAMPARA.

Once there was a Man and he made a trap for game. He had never learned how to do it before and no game was caught. He went and asked a brother why he could not catch game. The brother said, "Because you have not put any medicine on the posts of the trap." This medicine is made from herbs which are cooked. He went to another brother and asked for some medicine. The brother said, "No." He went and got medicine, put it on the trap and caught some game. As he was going home he saw some other traps on the road; they were the traps of the brother who would not give him medicine. He put his game into the traps to see if they would catch it, and they did. Then he wanted to take it out, but the brother came and said, "No, it is mine; it is caught in my trap." He told the brother that he had put it there himself; but the brother would not let him have it, and took it away. For this reason one calls a fool a "Mampara," that is, one who does not know how to keep the game which he has caught.

#### THE PICANIN WHO WOULD LAUGH.

Once a Man went and lived in another country, and then he came back to fetch his younger brother. His brother said, "All right, we shall start to-morrow." Next morning they started. The elder brother said, "Do not laugh at anything strange you see, for there are many



strange matters on the road." The brother said, "All right, I will be quiet." By and bye they came to a garden and a frog was labouring in it. The Picanin laughed, and said to the frog, "What is this? Never have I seen this before!" The frog was very angry and wanted to kill him; but his brother said, "Do not kill him; he does not understand; he has never been here before." And he sang a song:

"Leave him alone, leave him alone!  
There at his home I told him  
When you find a stranger  
Do not laugh  
If he works in the garden.  
Leave him alone, leave him."

So the frog left him alone. The Man said to the Picanin "Did I not tell you not to laugh? There are many strange matters on the road." The Picanin said, "All right, I'll be quiet." By and bye they came to a place where a cow was building a hut of poles and mud (wattle and daub). The boy laughed when he saw the cow and said to it, "What is this? Never have I seen this before!" The cow was very angry and wanted to kill him; but his brother said, "Do not kill him; he does not understand; he has never been here before." And he sang again:

"Leave him alone, leave him alone!  
There at his home I told him  
When you find a stranger  
Do not laugh  
If he builds a hut.  
Leave him alone, leave him."

So the cow left him alone. The Man said, "Did I not tell you not to laugh?" The Picanin said, "All right, I won't."

Next day they met a sheep who was planting a garden. The boy laughed and said to the sheep, "What is this? Never have I seen this before!" The sheep was very angry



and wanted to kill him ; but the brother said, " Do not kill him ; he does not understand." He sang :

" Leave him alone, leave him alone !  
There at his home I told him,  
When you find a stranger,  
Do not laugh,  
If or when he plants a garden,  
Leave him alone, leave him."

So the sheep left him alone. The Man said, " Did I not tell you not to laugh?" The Picanin said, " All right, I will not."

Then they came to the Man's house. There was a mouse carrying a waterpot. The Picanin laughed and said to the mouse, " What is this? Never have I seen this before." The mouse was angry and wanted to kill him ; but the brother said, " Do not kill him ; he does not understand ; he has never been here before." And he sang :

" Leave him alone, leave him alone !  
There at his home I told him,  
When you find a stranger,  
Do not laugh,  
If he carries water,  
Leave him alone, leave him."

So the mouse let him go. The Man said to the Picanin, " You must not laugh at anything strange, here it is done so every day." The Picanin said, " All right, I will be quiet." That night as they lay in their bed a snake came into the hut. The Picanin laughed and said, " What is that?" The Man said, " It is my brother." The snake was angry and wanted to kill him. The Man sings as before :

" . . . Do not laugh,  
When you see a snake coming."

The snake slept with them in their bed. The Picanin was afraid and slept close to his brother. In the morning the



Man woke and went out early. When the Picanin woke he found the snake lying in his bed. He laughed and said to the snake, "What is this? Never have I seen this before." The snake was angry and ate him up. When the Man came back his brother was gone.

#### CHINZIRI AND HIS BROTHERS.

There was a man, his name was Chinziri. He went with his two brothers to another country to buy cloth. He bought plenty of nice red cloth and his brothers bought only white. By and bye they walked on the road home. Now the brothers said to each other, "It would be good to kill Chinziri and take his cloth and when we get home we can say he died of disease." So they killed him; but some of his blood fell on the ground and turned into a bird. The bird said, "I will go with you and tell that you killed Chinziri." They killed it; but it was there again. They put it in the fire and burned it like a log; but it came again out of the ashes. Then they stabbed it with knives; but it came alive again. Every way they killed it it came again. They went home and said, "Chinziri died of disease"; but the bird said "No, you killed him," and sang:

"Chinziri, a bird am I!  
Chinziri, a bird am I!  
The men went there to Mbwani (name of the country),  
The men bought white cloth,  
I bought red for myself,  
I came upon the road,  
They killed me,  
I wanted to run away, they struck me with a knife,  
Chinziri, a bird am I!  
Chinziri, a bird am I!  
Chinziri!"

Then the men were taken and put to death. Chinziri came back in place of the bird.



JARIJE.

Jarije was a boy with only one leg. He used to steal from the flocks of others. One day he came to a boy who was herding goats and said, "I will pick up one of your goats on my back and run away with it." The boy said, "You can pick it up; but you cannot run away with it; I should soon catch you." Jarije picked up a goat and ran away with it. His home was a hole in the ground. When he came to it he sang:

"Brother, you opened me the door, you opened me the door.

Men are coming; you opened me the door, you opened me the door.

They would kill me; you opened me the door, you opened me the door."

The brother opened and Jarije went down and shut up the entrance to the hole; it had grass growing on it. When the boy who was running after Jarije came up he could not find the entrance. Jarije killed the goat, and his brother cooked it. Jarije ate it all and gave him none. The brother said, "Another time I will not open the door if you do that."

Next day Jarije went to a boy who was herding sheep and said, "I will pick up one of your sheep and run away with it." The boy said, "You can pick it up; but you cannot run away with it; I have heard about you and the goat; but you cannot do that here; I would soon catch you." Jarije picked up the sheep and ran home, and sang

"Brother, you opened me the door," etc.

The brother let him in and the boy who was pursuing Jarije could not find the entrance because grass grew on the top. Jarije killed the sheep and his brother cooked it. Jarije ate it all and gave him none. The boy said, "Another time I will not open the door for you if you do that."



Next day Jarije went to another boy who was herding sheep. He said, "I will pick up one of your sheep and run away with it." The boy said, "I have heard of you and the goat and the sheep; but you cannot do that here; you can pick up the sheep; but you cannot run away with it; I would soon catch you." Jarije got away with the sheep again and again he ate all the meat and gave his brother none. His brother said, "Next time I will not open the door." The next day Jarije went to the same boy and got another sheep. A crowd of men pursued him, and when he came back he sang:

"Brother, you opened me the door," etc.

But the brother would not open the door; and the men killed Jarije.

#### THE KHORHAAN.

There was a man who went to make a garden. First of all he cut down all the trees; which had to be cleared away and went home that night to sleep. Next day he came to dig; but there was no longer a clearing, for all the trees were growing again. He cut down the trees again and went home at night to sleep; but next morning they were growing again in the same place. The third day he cut down the trees again and the next morning they were all growing again in the same place. He cut them all down again and that night he hid in the clearing. He saw a Khorhaan come, and it said, "Who wants to make a garden here?" and the trees answered him. He sang:

"Who has done this? Who has done this?"

The man tells lies.

Trees, wake again!

Grass, wake again!"

Then all the trees grew again. The man killed the bird, and it said, "Kill me properly!" He picked it up, and it said, "Pick me up properly!" He took it home and



plucked it, and it said, "Pluck me properly!" He cooked it, and it said, "Cook me properly!" He called his friends to come and eat it, and it said, "Eat me properly!" All who ate it turned into birds.

#### THE HUNTER AND THE POT OF MEAT.

There was a man and he used to kill a great deal of game. He used to find the old tracks of game and follow them up and without seeing the game at all he used to shoot into the long grass and kill. This he showed to all his brothers; but he gave all the meat to them and kept none. One day he cut off a little piece and put it into a pot, saying, "I will keep this; no one must touch it; I go to-day; but to-morrow I shall return." He went, and as soon as he had gone one of the brothers went to the pot and opened it. At once he stuck fast to the pot; but he could not get free. One of the brothers came to pull him away; but he stuck fast to the first one. Another one came to pull; but he stuck fast to the second one and a fourth stuck to the third. At last they were all sticking one behind the other. Some of the brothers had gone to fetch other people. More and more came and all stuck fast. The man did not return until the next day. When he saw all the people stuck one behind the other he said, "What is this? I told you not to touch my pot." Then he told the pot to let go and so they were all loosed; but he would not eat the meat because they had touched the pot.

#### THE MONKEYS.

There were four Monkeys who were sisters. They wanted to have a garden. One Monkey said she would take off her skin and pretend to be human and go and work in a Man's garden. So she took off her skin and turned into a human being and went to work in the garden



of a Man. When the mealies were ripe she sent to tell the Monkeys that they were not to gather from her side of the garden; they could take from the side of her brother the Man. But they came and picked her mealies and she was very angry and killed two of them. The third said, "What is this? It is not good that you dwell with mankind. I will go and get your skin, so that you may be a monkey once more and we will all live in the veldt again." She went back and brought the skin, singing:

"To-day you speak falsely, Msingulango my sister, Msingulango,  
You told me, 'I make a garden,' Msingulango, Msingulango,  
And when the mealies are ripe, I will eat them,  
Msingulango, Msingulango my sister, my sister."

All the men fled as she came, because they were afraid of her. The sister went into one of the huts and put on the skin, and turned into a monkey again and she and her sister took that garden for themselves.

#### THE VELDT DWELLERS.

There was a man who lived on the veldt. He had no hut; he slept on the grass and had no clothes. One day he went to a kraal. All the big people had gone to work in the fields and only the Picanins were left at home. He said to the children, "Lend me the clothes of your parents; I will give them back again." They lent him the clothes and he brought them back again and the children put them all back in the boxes. When the parents came back they said, "Why are our clothes all pulled about?" The children said, "No, we only wanted to look at them." Next day the man came again and he asked the children to lend him their parents' clothes again. They gave them to him and he went off singing:

"The children are fools;  
They took the clothes of their parents from the boxes,  
And gave them to me, the dweller in the veldt."



Then he ran away and the children ran after him. He ran very far and they could not find him. They came home again. The parents came home and said, "Where are our clothes?" The children said, "A man came from the veldt and said, 'Lend me the clothes of your parents, and I shall bring them back.' We lent him the clothes, and then he sang :

‘The children are fools,’ etc.,

and then he ran and we ran after him ; but he ran right away from us, so we came home."

The parents said, "Do not do it again."

#### THE TWO LIONS.

Once there were two Lions and they took off their skins and pretended to be men. They went to a village and said, "We want two boys to come and live with us and be our brothers ; it is very nice at our house." Two men said they would go. They did not know that these men were Lions, so they went with them. One man saw that the strangers were Lions, so he followed the four, singing :

"Shimi! Shimi! Shau!

These be fools!

They go with whom they know not and whither they know not.  
Shimi! Shimi! Shau!"

The Lions said, "Be still, you will frighten them." By and bye he went away. The four came to a river. A Frog was sitting on the bank. One of the brothers wanted to kill him, and he said, "Why do you want to kill me? There is only one road over the river and I know it; who will show the road if I die?" They went through the river and by and bye they came to the Lion's house. They saw many bones lying about. The Lions put their skins on again and became Lions again. Now the boys were afraid. By and bye a skeleton of one who had been eaten said to



them, "Why have you come? Did you not see the bones lying round this place? You were fools." They said, "We did not know," and they wept. The Lions said, "We are going out now; later we shall return and eat you." The boys wept again. Then the skeleton said, "I will show you how to escape." So he gave each of them two bottles, and said, "When I have helped you to escape you will be pursued by a flock of birds: throw down the one bottle and break it, and ants will come out and the birds will settle down to eat them. Then the Lions will come after you, and you must break the other bottle. A great lake will come up and divide you from the Lions."

So they went from there and now they saw a flock of birds pursuing them. They threw down the one bottle and broke it and a swarm of ants came out. The birds settled and stayed behind eating the ants. They went on and now they saw the Lions coming after them. They threw down the second bottle and broke it. A great lake came between them and the Lions and so the Lions remained behind. By and bye they came to the river where the Frog was. It had come down in flood and they were not able to cross. The Frog said, "What do you want?" They said, "We want to cross. We are afraid the birds will soon pursue us through the air." He said, "Did I not tell you not to strike me? Now I will not help you to cross over." They remained there until it grew late and the sun set; they did not know where to go. Then the Frog swam across and swallowed them both. Then he swam back and went back to their home and made them come out of his mouth. They told their relations and their relations gave the Frog a goat.

#### THE CROCODILE'S PANDA (HEAD RING).

There was a boy and his mother died. He went to live in his brother's house. The brother did not want him.



He took the trunk of a tree and made a pestle and mortar and put his brother in and pounded him up. Then he went away.

The rain came and it washed the remains of the boy into the lake. The Crocodile who lived in the lake took the parts and put them together again and put a panda (an ivory arm ring) on the boy's head and said, "You must never take that off." The boy lived in the water, swimming like a fish. One day a Picanin was fishing. He went and told his brother, "The boy who was killed is still alive." The brother went and caught him like a fish, and took him home. When the Crocodile found he was gone he went up on the land and listened to the men talking. He heard them say the boy was with them. Next day he called all the birds together and said, "I want to hear all the birds singing; the one that sings best can take my message." They all sang. The only one he liked was the Wood-pigeon. He told it to go and sing:

"Ku ku! Nika panda yaweni!  
Ku ku! Nika panda yaweni!"  
(Give the ring that is not yours.)

It went and sang this song to the brothers. They tried to take the panda from the boy's head; but he screamed and said, "You are killing me"; so they sent his clothes. The Crocodile said, "No, I wanted the panda."

Next day the Crocodile sent the Wood-pigeon again to the brothers. It sang, "Ku ku," etc. They tried to take the ring from the boy's head; but he screamed and said, "You are killing me"; so they sent the clothes. The Crocodile said, "No, I wanted the panda."

Next day the Wood-pigeon came again and sang, asking for the panda. They tried to take it from the boy's head; but he screamed and said, "You are killing me." They took it at last and he died. The Wood-pigeon took the ring back to the Crocodile.



## HALAMBA THE OLD.

Halamba came to a town and made many little drums. He put them all into his knee as into a box. Then he came to the man's house and said, "I am ill; let me remain here!" So he remained. When all the men were out working he used to call the children and take the little drums out of his knee and let them play and dance. The men heard the noise; but when they came to see what it was they were always too late. One day a man hid and saw all. He ran and called the others. They said to Halamba, "What do you do this for?" He said, "Nothing." They killed him and flung him on the veldt. One day a man went to the water and saw him in it. He told the others. They all looked in the water and found him. They caught him and killed him and flung him away. Now he was back in the hut again. They burnt him on the fire like a log; they put him in a hut and set it alight; still they could not kill him. One day he wanted to build a hut for himself. He took men and set them in a great circle like poles; he bound them together and plastered them and thatched the roof. Thus he made his house. Then he went away. A man came and saw the house. He said, "Where are all the men of this village?" Voices answered him, but he could not see. He went in and spoke again. The men answered him from within the walls. He broke away the plaster and found the men, and set them free. They never saw Halamba again.

## THE JACKALS (?) AND THE BOAT.

Once two Jackals put off their skins and pretended to be men. They went to a kraal and said, "Who will come with us?" Two girls said, "We will"; and the Jackals said, "Very well." The little brother of one of the brides said, "Let me come too!" but the sister said, "No, we go alone."



He followed them little by little. The four reached the home of the Jackals. There were many Jackals there. The brides were very much afraid when they saw their men put on their skins again and become Jackals. The Jackals were going to eat the brides; but the boy came up. He said, "Wait, let me show you a game with these two women. I am going to make something out of wood." They said, "Very well." He cut down a tree and took some wood. He said, "Now I will make a doll's boat." He made a toy boat, and then he said, "Now watch the game!" He got into the boat and said, "Let the women get into it too." They got in, and the boat grew large enough for them. Then it rose in the air and sailed away. He sang:

"My boat, my boat!  
My sister told me, 'Do not come with me.'  
My boat, my boat!  
They did not see me.  
My boat, my boat!"

By and bye the boat rested in a tree. All the Jackals rushed to the tree yelping; but the boat sailed away again and carried the three home. The relations said, "What is this?" and he said, "I told them not to go; but they went. I said, 'Let me come,' but they would not; so I followed and brought them from the house of the Jackals."

#### THE HARE AND THE DZIMO (WILD CAT).

A Hare went to a Wild Cat and said, "Let us both bring up what we have eaten, and then we shall see who has the best food." They did so. The Wild Cat had eaten grass, and the Hare had had milk. The Wild Cat said, "Where do you get it?" The Hare said, "I get it from the Elephant; come too and get some." So they go and set a snare. The Elephant comes in and is caught. They have



two bottles. The Hare fills his bottle and tells the Wild Cat to fill his. The Wild Cat says, "I will drink now and by and bye I will fill the bottle." The Hare runs away and calls out, "Come now or the rope will break and he will kill you." The Wild Cat says, "You say so, but I am not afraid." The Hare runs further and says, "Fill your bottle and come; the rope will break." The Wild Cat says, "Run away yourself; I am not afraid; I have heard you all right." By and bye the rope breaks and the Elephant runs after the Wild Cat. At last the Wild Cat hides in a hole at the root of a tree. The Elephant fills it up with a stone and goes. The Wild Cat thinks the stone is the Elephant and so it is afraid to come close; each time he draws near he thinks it is the Elephant and he runs back again. At last the sun goes down and he is nearly dead. He thinks, "All right, I will go and see him." He goes close and lays hold and finds it is a stone. He pushes it away and comes out. The Hare is waiting near, and says, "What is this?" He says, "It is you; you said the rope would break, and it did break." The Hare says, "Very well, it was your fault, because you would stay; don't do it again."

#### THE DEAD TREE.

There was a tree and it died. A borer (woodworm) was eating in it, and it sang:

"This tree is now wood,  
This tree."

A boy heard it and went home and told his brothers, "There is a tree with a thing in it which sings. To-morrow I go again to hear it." The brothers said, "We shall come too." Next day they went and heard it again. All the brothers came and listened and they ate no food because they were listening. Next day they came again and listened and they said, "It would be a good thing to sleep



here." They lay under the tree that night. A Lion came and said, "What is this? Do not lie here or I will eat you." Next night they lay there again, and the Lion ate them all; the first boy only was left. His head was too big for the Lion to eat! He tried to eat it, but he failed; so the boy went home and told his friends that the Lion had eaten all the others.

#### THE SHEEP.

There was a man and he herded sheep every day. Every day he tried to climb a great tree to get the fruit. One day he did climb it; he went very high and fell and was killed. One of the sheep returned home and sang:

"Maa, maa, maa, maa!  
Maa, maa, maa, maa!  
My man wanted to climb the tree.  
Now he has fallen;  
Maa, maa, maa, maa!"

It went along the road singing this and people said, "What is this that sings like this on the road?" It went along until it came to the village. There it sang again, "Maa, maa!" etc. All the people listened; but could not understand. At last someone said, "I think it says its master is dead!" They followed it and it took them to where the brother lay dead.

#### THE OLD MAN.

There were three brothers and they went to hunt guinea fowl. They went very far and the sun went down. They were far from home. They wandered farther and farther and at last they came to a house where there was a fire. They said, "Very well, we shall sleep here to-night, for it is very far; to-morrow we shall return home." They went in and found an old man sitting by the fire. He said, "Where do you come from?" They said, "We have



wandered far seeking guinea fowl and the sun set when we were far from home ; we wish to sleep here to-night and return home to-morrow." He said, " Very well, sleep here." They lay down and slept ; but one of them was wakeful. The old man thought they were all asleep and he got up and went to the door. He sang :

" Door, open ! Door, open !"

It opened, and he went out and sang :

" Door, shut ! Door, shut !"

It shut. It was a strong door made of iron.

The old man went hither and thither, calling the wild beasts, and he told them, " Come and eat ; there are men in my house." The brother who was awake woke the others, saying, " Look, the old man has left us shut up here ; he has gone." They looked and saw he was gone. Then he said, " Wait ; I will sing what I heard him singing," and he sang, " Door, open ! door, open !" and it opened and all three went out. He said, " Door, shut ! door, shut !" and it shut and they ran away.

Now the old man came back and brought all the wild beasts, saying, " There are men in my house." They said, " Where are they ?" He said, " I will show you," and he sang, " Door, open ! door, open !" The door opened and he went in and saw that they had gone. He was afraid, because he had brought the beasts there for nothing, so he hid himself in a hole in the ground near the fire. The beasts said, " Where is he ?" but they could not find him. At last one of them found him in the hole ; it said, " Here he is !" and they pulled him out and they ate him.

#### TANDANE (THE SNAKE).

There was a Man and he set a snare for game. His snare caught a great Snake (python). When he came to



look at the trap he saw the Snake. It said, "Take me up and carry me to your house because you have caught me." He took it home, singing :

"Big snake, big snake !  
The man who set a snare to catch buck,  
Now has he caught a big snake.  
Big snake !"

All the people at home heard him, and said, "Who is this who comes singing on the road?" They said, "Wait until he comes ; we shall hear." Then they saw him come along bearing the Snake, and he cast it down. They said, "What is this?" He said, "Because I set a trap to catch game and I caught this snake, and he told me to carry him home, and he wants to eat all my brothers because I have caught him." They said, "No, give him a goat or a sheep ; let him eat that!" The Snake said, "No, I want a man to eat." The Man said, "Wait, then ; I shall go and get one for you." He put him in his hut and said, "Wait here!" He went out and shut his door and then he burned down his hut with the Snake inside it.

#### THE HARE AND THE ELEPHANT.

There was an Elephant and he made a garden. Every day the Hare came and stole food in it. One day the Elephant stayed at home to catch him ; but the Hare knew and would not come that day. Next day the Elephant did not stay in and the Hare went and stole again. He thought, "Where shall I run when the Elephant comes?" He looked about and by and bye he went to the river bank and looked down it. The bank was reflected in the water and looked very deep. The Hare thought the bank was very high and the water far off and little. He said, "I will run down there and the Elephant cannot catch me." When the Elephant came to the garden he ran after the Hare. The Hare ran to the river and went



down the bank and fell into the water. The Elephant looked, but did not see him, and went away. The Hare climbed out and thought, "Where can I run now?" At last he thought he would just stay still in the road. The Elephant came along the road and saw him and said to him in the Hare language, "Have you seen the Hare who has been stealing in my garden?" The Hare said, "Do not speak to me in the Hare language because I do not understand it. I only speak the language of that kind of animal whose coat is wet when the sun shines!" (His coat was wet.) So the Elephant went on and the Hare went home and did not steal again.

#### THE EXILE.

There was a Man and he was told to go away by his own people, because he was always quarrelling and hitting them. He said, "Very well," and he took his bundle and went on the road, singing as he looked at his home:

"Near that black cloud is my home ;  
Very well, it does not matter,  
There is my home !"

He met a Hare. It said, "Where are you going?" He said, "I am searching for a home where I may remain, since my own people have told me to go." The Hare said, "Take care! Go on and see what is beyond."

The Man went on his way singing, "Near that black cloud," etc. He met a Guinea Fowl. It said, "Where are you going?" He said, "I seek a home where I may stay ; my own people have told me to go." The Guinea Fowl said, "Take care! Go on! See what is beyond."

He went on his way singing, "Near that black cloud," etc. He met an Elephant, who asked him the same question. He answered as before, and the Elephant said, "Take care! Go on and see what is beyond."



On the other side of the mountain he met a Man. He asked the Man if he might stay with him. The Man said, "Very well." The Man of the Hut bought a fowl and gave it to the new arrival, saying, "Cook it while I go to work in the garden." The Man said, "All right," and cooked it; but ate it all himself. The other Man returned and said, "Where is the fowl?" He answered, "I ate it all." The Man of the Hut bought him another fowl, and gave it to him to cook, while he went himself to work in the garden. As before, he cooked it and ate it himself. When the other Man returned he was angry, and killed his guest.

#### THE HARE AND THE ELEPHANT.

Once there was a Hare and he said he would work at a garden together with the Elephant. He used his own pick; but only drove it in a little way, so that each time it came out again. Then he used the Elephant's pick; but it was too heavy; thus he worked very slowly. The Elephant came to see and the Hare said, "It is because my pick is too blunt and I cannot drive it into the ground. Let me sharpen it. If I strike it on your head it will become sharp." The Elephant said, "Very well"; and the Hare did so and worked well for a little time; then he said his pick was blunt and asked leave to sharpen it in the same way.

Next day the Elephant took his pick and worked. Soon he said, "My pick is blunt; let me hit you on the head with it." The Hare said, "No." The Elephant said, "What is this? Yesterday you struck me twice, because you said your pick wanted sharpening." The Hare said, "No, I am too little; I would die if you struck me!" The Elephant said, "It is all right if you die, because yesterday you struck me twice." The Hare ran away until he came to a river and there he was caught in a snare. The Elephant went home to get his pick. A little Wild Cat came to the



Hare, and said, "What is the matter?" The Hare said, "Don't you know, this is my swing?" The Wild Cat said, "I would like to swing too." The Hare said, "No, it is mine." The Wild Cat said, "All the same, I want to swing too." The Hare said, "Very well," and let the Wild Cat get into the snare and the Hare fastened it round its neck. Then the Hare runs away and the Elephant comes back and finds that it is not the Hare in the trap.

#### THE HARE RIDES THE LION.

Once there was a Lion, who came to a town and said, "I want this man to be my brother and by and bye I will take him to my house." The Man said, "Very well," so every day the Lion came to visit him. By and bye the Hare came in and saw this, so he went away and put on nice clothes and came back, saying, "I want this man to be my brother." The Men said, "No, he is the Lion's brother." He said, "The Lion is of no importance; he is my horse." The Men laughed but the Hare repeated it. He went home and the Men told the Lion what the Hare had said. The Lion was very angry and said he would go and get the Hare and make him tell them that he had spoken falsely. He went to the Hare and told him what the Men had said. The Hare denied it and said if he were not feeling so ill he would go and tell the Men themselves that they had said what was not true. The Lion wanted him to come and say so; but the Hare said he was too ill to walk. The Lion said, "Very well, I will carry you." The Hare said, "Very well, because I want to tell them it is a lie." So the Lion took him on his back. By and bye the Hare says he is so weak that he will fall off unless the Lion will let him put a bridle in his mouth (a rope made of bark from a tree). The Lion submits and goes on with the rope in his mouth. By and bye the Hare says the flies bother him so that he cannot hold on and



asks the Lion to give him a little stick to drive them away. The Lion says, "Very well," and gives him a switch. Then they come near to the town and all the Men come out and see the Hare riding on the Lion's back and beating him with a switch. He says, "Hi! hi! didn't I say you were my horse?"

#### THE SMALL WILD FOWL AND THE LARGE FOWL.

A small wild fowl said to a large one, "Come, let us be friends; you come and eat at my house and I shall eat at yours." The big one said, "Very well"; and several times they ate at each other's houses. At last the big one said, "You must only come twice more to my house." He said, "Very well." Twice the little fowl went and the third time he went he found the big fowl with its head under its wing. He thought its head was cut off and said, "What is this?" He told him, "Nothing, I always do this." Another time he came and the large bird was showing its head again. The small bird said, "Last time you had no head." He said, "Yes, this time I have put it on." The little bird went home and said to his brother, "When my big brother comes to eat here; cut my head off; he does so." His brother said, "I think you will die." He said, "No, do it and say to him 'Go in there; your little brother is in there.'"

When the large bird came he saw the brother, who said, "Go in there; your little brother is in there." He did so, and found the little one dead.

#### "THE VALLEY OF REEDS."

There was a boy and he found a nest with ten eggs in it in a tree which hung over a river. He took two eggs home. There was a woman who said, "Go and get me two more." He went and took two more, leaving six only. When he was not looking, the woman took a stone and broke the top



off the eggs and sucked them without his knowing it. Then she put the egg shells in the doorway, and when he went in he crushed them. She said, "Now you have broken the eggs, go and get two more." He went and got two more, leaving four. She did the same as before; she sucked the eggs and put the shells beside his bed; when he went to lie down he broke them. She sent him for two more. Finally, she sent him to fetch the last two which remained. When he was in the tree a Picanin, who was at the foot of the tree, sang:

"Valley, valley, valley, valley of reeds! do you see the bird coming? (twice).

It is coming on the right hand, valley of reeds (three times).  
Valley of reeds."

The man tried to get down; but the bird came and struck him and he fell in the water and was killed.



#### THE PLEASING CHILD.

There was a woman who had a child, and it was a very pleasing one. Every day the men and women came and said, "Let him come with us and learn to dance." She said, "Very well; when you come back knock at the door and I will let you in." Another day she said, "No, I will not let him go." The child said, "I want to," and the others took him; they did this every day. Then the other children became jealous; they said, "This boy is too pleasing; let us kill him." The brother of one of the children came to fetch the child to the dance. The mother said, "Do not go"; but he took the child, and when he had taken him far away he killed him.

They brought him back to the mother's house; she was away in another house. They laid him dead on his mother's couch. She came in and thought he was asleep and lay beside him. In the morning she rose; but he lay



still and at last she saw that he was dead. Then she said to her husband, "The child is dead; let us go"; and they wept. She said, "Where shall I lay him?" and they took his corpse and went forth singing:

"My child, where shall I lay him?  
My child, where shall I lay him?  
Let us lay him in the deep water,  
The water where the reeds grow.  
The water."

They wandered until they came to the water; when they came to it they threw themselves in, the mother holding her child, and were drowned.

#### THE CARELESS MOTHER.

There was a mother and she had no one to mind her baby. The others said, "Do not give it to someone you don't know; they might kill it." She said, "All right," and continued to give it to someone she did not know to be taken care of. One day she was working in the garden and a man said, "I will look after your child." She said, "Very well, you must keep it all day and when I want to go home you must give it back." This was done every day. The others said, "Do not give it to someone you don't know; he might kill it." She said, "It is all right." One day he said, "I am going very far with the child." She said, "It is all right." He went very far off and killed it. She went to look for it and found it was killed. She came back weeping and said, "The man who said he wanted to look after my child took it away and killed it. Now, I will kill him. I will set a snare over the water-place where he comes to drink." He came to drink; but he saw the snare, and did not go to the water. Next day he came again and went away without having drunk. Every day he came and could not



drink. At last he was nearly dead of thirst, so he went to the water and was killed in the snare.

#### THE ORPHAN AND HIS HOST.

There was a man and his mother died. He had no home now and he wandered very far. At last he came to a hut in which another man was living. The man whose mother was dead said, "Let me share your hut, and be your brother!" and the owner of the hut said, "Very well." This man had many brothers and many mothers. The man whose mother was dead made up his mind to kill them. He went to a witch doctor and got some medicine; he came back and threw it in their huts, and they all died. He sang:

"Let all die!  
Long ago my mother died,  
Ever since I have been all alone.  
Let all die!"

The other man also had a magic. He took the tail of a horse and waved it over the dead, singing:

"No, he speaks falsely, that other one!  
They are not dead,  
They will wake."

A shower of rain came and they awoke. The man whose mother was dead went to another witch doctor and got another magic. The man told his family, "Do not greet him or speak to him when he comes back; he brings a magic to kill you." When he came they called "*Sakabona! Sakabona!*" (greeting). The man said, "I told you not to greet him!" They all died. The man whose mother was dead sang again, "Let all die," etc.

The man of the hut took the horse's tail and waved it over the dead, singing, "No, he speaks falsely," etc.

A shower of rain came and they awoke.



The third time the man whose mother was dead went very far to a distant witch doctor and got a very powerful magic from him. He came back and sang, "Let all die," etc.

They all died. The man of the hut waved his horse's tail; but his magic was no use; no rain came and the dead did not wake. He saw them all dead before him and then they turned into a great river which flowed away. He sought his mother and his brothers; but he never saw them again.

#### THE GUINEA FOWL AND THE FOWL.

A Guinea Fowl and a Fowl became friends; the Guinea Fowl said, "Now, we are brothers."

The Fowl went to visit the Guinea Fowl, and found a pot cooking on the fire.

By and bye a friend came in and lifted the lid up. In the smoke the Guinea Fowl seemed to come out of the pot.

The Fowl said, "How did you come out of the pot?" The Guinea Fowl said, "I can always do that; it does not kill me when the pot boils."

Then they went to the Fowl's house and the Fowl set a pot on the fire.

The Guinea Fowl said, "Why do you do that?" and he said, "I want to do as you did. Put me in the pot, put water in and light the fire and when you lift the lid I shall come out." The Guinea Fowl said, "All right." When the water boiled the Fowl did not come out; it was cooked and he ate it.

#### THE BOY AND THE HARE.

A Boy and a Hare went to a distant country. On the way they found a tree growing. The Hare said, "When we go farther on we shall find a brother who has built a hut. He will give us beer to drink; but very hot; and you must come back and cut a piece of this tree for a spoon to stir it with."



By and bye they came to the brother's house and he gave them the beer. The Boy went back to get the spoon and the Hare drank all the beer. When the Boy came back the Hare said, "You were so long, a crowd of boys came and drank all the beer."

Next day they found another tree growing and the Hare said, "When we go farther on we shall find a brother who has built a hut. He will give us food like rice to eat; but very hot, and you must come back and cut a piece of this tree to make a spoon to stir it with."

They came to the brother's hut and he gave them the rice and the Boy went back to get the spoon. Then the Hare ate all the food and when the Boy came back he said, "You were so long, a crowd of boys came and ate all the food."

Then the Boy felt very weak and like to die, so they went home.

Then they set out again. When they came to the tree the Hare spoke as before; but the Boy cut a piece of the wood when the Hare was not looking. When they came to the house of the brother who gave them beer, the Hare told the Boy to go back and get the stick; but he showed him he had it already. The Hare was very angry and would not drink. He said to the Boy, "You can drink my share too."

Next day they came to the other tree and the Boy cut a piece when the Hare was not looking. When they came to the brother who gave them food like rice, the Hare sent the Boy back for the stick; but he showed him he had it already. Then the Hare was very angry and would not eat. He said, "You can eat my share too." So the Boy ate it.

Then they came to a house and the man said the Hare would sleep in his own bed that night and his servant (the Boy) could sleep in a bucket of ashes. The Boy spoke to the Hare and said, "Look at the bucket of ashes; how firmly it stands! It cannot fall over; it is the bed for a Chief and the man's bed is only fit for a servant." So the



Hare slept in the bucket of ashes and told the Boy to sleep in the bed. In the morning the man said, "Why is the Hare so dirty and full of ashes?" The Boy said, "Because he said the Chief must sleep in the ash bucket."

The Hare said, "Now let us go home." The Boy said, "All right." They passed a garden and the Hare said he would go in and take enough for both and they would eat it later on. While the Hare was gathering food the Boy gathered some too and hid it in his loin cloth. They went on together and by and bye the Hare said, "Let us eat," and the Boy said, "Yes." The Hare said, "I only took for myself; I have none for you." The Boy said, "I have a little." The Hare said, "Let me see it"; so the Boy brought it out. It was much more and much nicer than what the Hare had; so the Hare said, "All right, you can eat mine too; I don't want it. Did I not tell you you were not to gather any?" So the Boy had the Hare's food too.

They came to another garden, and it all happened as before.

Then they tried to get home, but the Hare died because he had eaten nothing.

#### THE QUASI AND THE LAND-FOWL.

There was a water-fowl called a Quasi and a land-fowl called a Chinanga. The Quasi made friends with the Chinanga, and said, "Now we are brothers." He came to see him and brought him a fish and said, "When you come to visit me, you must do the same."

Now some one came to the Chinanga and said, "The Quasi is dead." He went to look for it, and met a land-bird. It said it would come too, so they went together to look for the Quasi's home; but they could not find it. They came back and the Fowl which the Chinanga had met said, "Come and see my home." So he went and he



saw many fowls there. He said, "I would like to live here." The Fowl said, "All right ; but have you a mother ?" He replied, " Yes, I have." " Well, you must kill her first." He went and killed her ; but he could never find the place again.

Then another Fowl went to him and said, "Do you want potatoes ?" He said, " Yes." So they went to the Fowl's garden. It was all stones and the potatoes were growing out of the stones. He said, " What is this ? Why is there no ground in this garden ?" The Fowl said, "It is all right." He said, " No, I have never seen this. I am afraid of your potatoes."

The Fowl said, " All right, you are a fool."

MADELEINE HOLLAND.





## MASKS AND THE ORIGIN OF THE GREEK DRAMA.

BY DR. F. B. JEVONS.

By way of preface, I think I ought to say this paper was written a year ago, and was placed in the hands of the Folk-Lore Society some time before the publication of Dr. Ridgeway's *Dramas and Dramatic Dances*. The differences, therefore, between this paper and Dr. Ridgeway's great and important work are differences of which at the time of writing I was unconscious, and they are not covert criticisms. Nor am I prepared as yet to say whether I should venture in all points to maintain my opinions against his. The presumption in my own mind is that I shall find on consideration him to be right and myself to be in error; and the presumption is very strong with me, because I find myself following Dr. Ridgeway in much or most of his opposition to the views of Miss Harrison, Professor Murray, Mr. Cornford, and Dr. Farnell. However, for the present the *littera scripta* must remain.

Aristotle has said—*ipse dixit*—that tragedy originated with the leaders of the dithyramb. The dithyramb was, however, originally and essentially a form not of acting but of choral lyric. It was only in the late time of Aristotle the dithyramb had come to assume something of a dramatic character; and that character it had assumed because it had borrowed it from the drama, which had then reached its highest development. In earlier times than those of Aristotle there was in the dithyramb no acting. The dithyramb



was a song, a choral song; and the chorus that sang it also danced. But dance and song together are not acting. To act is to perform a part and personify a character, whereas in the dithyramb neither the leader of the dithyramb nor the chorus acted any part or personified any character. The dithyramb was essentially narrative poetry; and narrative, even when sung and accompanied by dancing, is not acting. To act is to play a part; and in the dithyramb no one, until very late times, when the drama had established itself, plays any part. It is, therefore, vain to quote Aristotle, and to seek the origin of tragedy in the dithyramb.

In ancient Greece there were three kinds of acting—tragedy, comedy, and the satyric drama. Any conjecture, therefore, as to the origin of the Greek drama, to be satisfactory, should account for all three forms, and should not—like Aristotle's conjecture—leave two of the three forms unaccounted for. If we wish to frame a conjecture that will be a satisfactory working hypothesis, we should look for some feature which is, on the one hand, present in all three forms of the drama, and which, on the other hand, is absent from the performance of all other forms of choral poetry. There is such a feature, which is not only common to all three forms of the Greek drama but is peculiar to them alone in Greek literature and art, and is not to be found in the performance of the dithyrambic or any other chorus. That feature, common to all three forms of the Greek drama and found in them alone, is the fact that masks were worn in dramatic performances, and were never worn in the performances of the dithyrambic chorus, or indeed of any chorus whatever save the chorus of the drama. It is therefore on the wearing of masks that I propose to base my conjecture as to the origin of the Greek drama. And, inasmuch as the wearing of masks is a custom which exists amongst many peoples who have not attained to civilisation, and which survives in the folk-



customs of many peoples who have become civilised, the practice is one which must have its interest for members of the Folk-Lore Society ; and the conjecture that it is in the wearing of masks that the Greek drama had its origin is one which the Folk-Lore Society is especially qualified to appraise.

I have said that masks were worn by the performers in all three kinds of the Greek drama—the tragic, the comic, and the satyric, and were never worn by any other kind of chorus than the chorus of drama. That is my first point. My second point is that in ancient Greece, while some choruses consisted of women and girls and some of men only, the choruses which consisted of male members alone, alone wore masks, and alone gave dramatic performances. Thus we have another and a very significant difference which marks off the chorus of drama from every other kind of chorus that performed in ancient Greece. The choruses from which women were excluded were the choruses which wore and had always worn masks. Custom, from time immemorial, had prescribed that men alone had the right of wearing masks. That is a right which is jealously guarded by the men of all tribes to whom masks are known, and it was a right maintained by the Greek man even to the highest point reached by his most glorious civilisation. That, then, is the third point which I desire to make : the prescriptive right in Greece of men alone to wear masks indicates that the wearing of masks in ancient civilised Greece is the continuance of a custom dating back to times when the forefathers of the Greeks were yet savages.

I repeat that in Greece, though women were allowed to sing in chorus, they never wore masks and never acted. Masks and acting in Greece were inseparable ; there was no acting without masks, and there were no masks without acting. To wear a mask was to act a part ; and the idea that it was even possible to act a part or to perform in a



play without wearing a mask was one which never occurred to the mind of those responsible for the Greek stage.

The next point which I wish to make is this, and here I follow the view set forth by Dr. Ridgeway in his *Origin of Tragedy*. Masking and acting, if they date back to the time of the rude forefathers of the ancient Greeks, go back to a time long before the god Dionysus, or any other god had come to be worshipped. The view, established and commonly accepted by classical scholars, that the Greek drama had its origin in the worship of Dionysus, is obviously erroneous; masking and acting were known to and practised by the forefathers of the Greeks long before the worship of Dionysus was established, even though it was in connexion with the worship of Dionysus that masking and acting reached their highest development.

The accepted view, that the Greek drama had its origin in the worship of Dionysus, is confronted with a fact which it indeed cannot explain, but which, on the other hand, this conjecture would account for. That fact is that in Sicyon, about B.C. 600, tragic choruses were performed, not in honour of the god Dionysus, but in honour of a deceased hero, Adrastus. Herodotus, who reports this fact, cannot understand it, because by this time tragedy had come to be intimately associated with the worship of Dionysus; but he puts the fact on record. And the fact is of great importance. It shows conclusively that tragedy—for I am now speaking of the tragic and not of the comic or satyric drama—had its origin in the worship of heroes. It indicates, as Dr. Ridgeway has shown in *The Origin of Tragedy*, that tragedy had its origin, not in the worship of Dionysus, or any god whatever, but in the worship of deceased ancestors.

But what has this to do with the wearing of masks, to which, on my conjecture, we must look for the origin of acting? To find an answer to this question we have only to enquire whether deceased ancestors are or were ever repre-



sented by persons wearing masks. In ancient Rome they were so represented on various occasions by persons wearing *imagines* (waxen masks); as the writer in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities* says, "The *imagines* used in funerals were masks which were fitted on to the faces of the actors who represented" the deceased ancestors, "on the occasion of the death of a member of the household, when the *imagines* of the ancestors formed a part of the funeral procession."

I admit candidly I have no evidence to produce that at Sicyon masks of deceased ancestors were preserved. I can only point to the fact that in Greece, in the period of the Aegean culture, death-masks were buried—at Mycenae for instance—with the deceased, as at Rome also they were buried. Whether in Greece, as in Rome, one mask was buried and another mask was preserved for use in subsequent funeral processions we do not know. It is conjecture only—if a plausible conjecture—that at Sicyon, in the rites, the τραγικοὶ χοροί, which commemorated the story of the deceased hero Adrastus, the performers wore masks. But it is in the highest degree unlikely that these performances would have been recognised as "tragic choruses" or performances had no masks been worn.

There, however, is the conjecture that the origin of tragedy goes back to the custom of wearing the death-masks of deceased ancestors and of enacting, at first in gesture-dancing and dumb-show, some scene in which the deceased ancestors make their appearance.

I now turn to the satyric drama, and my suggestion is that, as tragedy had its origin in masking and the acting of such tragic choruses as those of Sicyon, so the satyric drama had its origin in the chorus of satyrs. But whereas tragedy, as I suggest, had its origin in the death-masks of the nobility—for the nobles alone, in Rome at any rate, had the right to such masks, the *jus imaginum*—the satyric chorus, I am going to suggest, had its origin in



masks worn on occasion by the lower classes. What is quite clear is that the masks worn by the satyric chorus (and consequently the parts played by the chorus) were not those of deceased ancestors; they were masks representing the goat-shaped spirits who figured in the folk-lore of the Peloponnese. If tragedy points back to the worship of deceased ancestors, the satyric drama points back to the worship of spirits.

There remains the third form of Greek drama, viz. comedy. In Greek comedy—as in tragedy and the satyric drama—the chorus was always masked, and men alone, not women, might wear the mask. The *κωμοί* who sung the *ὥδή*, from which “comedy” gets its name, were bands of young men who came forth at harvest festivals singing their song in chorus, evidently an essential part of the harvest-home. Unfortunately no piece of evidence has been preserved to us to show what sort of masks the singers wore or whom they were supposed to impersonate. It is easy to conjecture that at a harvest-home it would be a vegetation-spirit which was expected to appear. But that is mere conjecture. What we do know, however, is important, viz. that in comedy, as in tragedy and the satyric drama, there was no acting without masks and no masks without acting.

I have said that of all the many kinds of chorus that performed in ancient Greece, the only one that wore masks was the dramatic chorus, that the members of the dramatic chorus were men alone—unlike the dithyrambic chorus, of which the members might be women—and that this limitation of the mask to men indicates that the custom had descended to the civilised Greeks from their uncivilised forefathers. Of their uncivilised forefathers we know little. If we are to argue about them we must argue on the analogy of other uncivilised tribes. Here I have only time to say that the custom of wearing masks is widely prevalent amongst savages, and that the wearers of the masks



personate deceased ancestors and spirits—either spirits of the wild or vegetation-spirits.

It is therefore quite conceivable, not to say probable, that the savage ancestors of the Greeks may have worn masks as other savages did and do wear them to personate ancestors and spirits or gods. This conjecture of a common origin for the masks both of the Greeks and of uncivilised peoples gains in strength when we observe that the wearing of masks amongst both Greeks and savages was a privilege strictly limited to men.

But it is not enough merely to suggest that the Greek drama may have had its origin in the wearing of masks. If the wearing of masks were a custom capable of developing into what we mean by drama, then it would be remarkable if the custom had so developed amongst the Greeks alone. It would indeed be so remarkable that we should hesitate long before accepting the suggestion. As regards the history of the Greek drama in all its forms—tragedy, comedy, and satyric drama—there are certain broad facts which are plain and undisputed. From the beginning to the end of its history the actors always wore masks, and men alone were allowed to wear masks and to act. For this rigid custom no satisfactory explanation has hitherto been forthcoming. Next, it was only on the occasion of religious ceremonies that masks were worn and that acting took place in ancient Greece. Further, whereas in the earlier stages of Greek drama, gods, heroes, and satyrs were the leading characters, in the later stages they are less prominent; in the new comedy they are absent, and the play only continues to be religious in the sense that it is performed on the occasion of religious festivals, and not in the sense that its theme is in any way religious.

Amongst savages, as I have said, the rites in honour of the gods, spirits and the dead are performed by men alone; the performers wear masks, and the women and children,



the uninitiated, believe the maskers to be the spirits of the dead, or to be the actual deities, or to be "endowed for the time being with their actual breath." But this belief passes away; and, when it has passed away, the ceremonies continue to be performed, but they cease to be religious rites. The men continue to wear masks on these occasions, but no one imagines them to be ghosts or gods. As Mr. Webster says,<sup>1</sup> "their main purpose appears to be by their crude dramatic representations to provide a little amusement for an unbelieving populace. The secret society has become a theatrical *troupe*."

It seems, then, that in North America, South America, Africa, and Melanesia there have been religious rites in which the celebrants wore masks and were believed to be ghosts, spirits, or gods; and that these ceremonies have become in some cases "a rude but often very effective dramatisation of the myths and legends," and in other cases have ceased to be predominatingly religious in their intention, and have become "nothing but theatrical performances."

This constitutes a presumption that the Greek drama, which at one period in its evolution was "a dramatisation of the myths and legends," and at a later period was nothing but a theatrical performance, and in which the performers were always men and were always masked, may also have originated in religious rites in which the celebrants were men, wore masks, and were believed to be ghosts, spirits, or gods. But, inasmuch as the parallels thus far advanced have been drawn from quarters of the globe remote from Greece and have been drawn from peoples having no racial or linguistic relation to the Greeks, the analogy may be viewed by some as insufficient or misleading. The question, then, arises whether we can find a parallel which is geographically closer to Greece than anything drawn from Africa, America, or Melanesia.

<sup>1</sup> *Primitive Secret Societies*, 172.



Let us turn then to Europe. There, in the period of the Aegean culture, death-masks were buried with the deceased. In ancient Italy one mask was buried with the deceased, whilst another was carefully preserved, and the masks or *imagines* thus preserved were, as we have seen, worn on the occasion of the funeral of a member of the household by persons who in the funeral procession represented the deceased ancestors whose *imagines* they wore. The right of using *imagines* in this way—the *jus imaginum*—came to be determined and circumscribed by the law; but the custom of wearing masks was older than the law which limited it, and the custom was neither restricted to Italy nor confined to the wearing of masks which represented human beings, nor was it practised only on the occasion of funerals.

Here I am going to draw for my facts upon that store-house of learning, Mr. Chambers's *Mediaeval Stage*.

Throughout the Roman empire, on the kalends of January, at the end of the old year and the beginning of the new, processions of masked figures took place. Similar processions also took place at other times of the year, but it is those which were held on New Year's eve that were specially denounced by the Christian Church because of their proximity to and rivalry with the Church festival of Christmas day. Hence it became the policy of the Church to attempt to treat New Year's eve and day as a fast, and to forbid its being regarded as a festival. In pursuance of this policy the pagan festivities of the kalends of January are denounced, and from the denunciations we are able to constate the existence and the nature of the rites denounced continuously from the second century A.D. to the tenth.

These processions, then, as we may note to begin with, were not restricted to Italy, but were found all over the Roman Empire—in Gaul, Spain, Germany, and England, as well as in Constantinople and Asia Minor. They belong



to a stage of culture less developed than that of Christianised Rome—less developed than that of civilised Rome before the Christian era. Further, it was not on the occasion of any funeral that these processions took place, and it is therefore evident that these masked figures were not held to represent the spirits of deceased persons, as the wearers of the *imagines* at a Roman funeral were supposed to do. We may also note that, though the processions which the Church principally denounced were those which had come to be held on New Year's eve and New Year's day, processions of masked figures were also held at other times of the year; and, if those which had come to be held on the kalends of January were specially denounced, it was because those processions clashed with the great Christian festival, and it was unseemly and undesirable that pagan festivities should be allowed to supervene and to place, as it were, a heathen crown upon it.

In Italy on the kalends of January there were processions of three different kinds; in the rest of the Roman Empire there were but two kinds of procession. The procession peculiar to Italy was one in which the members were masked to represent Roman gods—of whom Saturn, Jupiter, Hercules, Diana, and Vulcan happen to be mentioned in a prohibition ascribed to Severian. Of what place Severian was bishop and what exactly was his date there seems to be some doubt. What is clear, however, from the prohibition of the procession, is that it belongs to the period when Christianity was the official religion of the Roman Empire; and, consequently, that the procession prohibited was a survival from times when such processions, so far from being prohibited, were part of the religion of the State and were prescribed by authority. The continuance of the rite indicated that faith in the old gods was not yet extinct; and the prohibition of the ceremony showed that the Church was conscious of the danger latent in the survival.



The two other processions were of a kind found not only in Italy, but throughout the Roman Empire. In one procession the performers wore either the heads, and often the skins also, of animals, or else masks representing the heads. In the other kind of procession the features of the performers were disguised by colouring the face with dirt and filth. This latter mode of disguise, as being the easier to effect may perhaps be the more primitive. The Fathers who denounce these processions are quite definite in declaring that the man who hangs a calf-skin on his limbs—to use the phrase which Shakespeare afterwards employed with a reference to these same processions at a much later date—thereby, according to the Fathers, sets himself up as an idol, or transfigures himself into an idol. And we may presume that the man also who coloured or blackened his face thereby identified himself with some spirit in whose worship the ceremony took place, or had taken place, until it was prohibited by the Church.

The essential, or at any rate the constant, feature in these rites was that the performers or mummers paraded the streets in their various disguises, to the sound of music, figuring as spirits of some kind—whether in jest or in earnest—and entered the houses of those who were sufficiently in sympathy to allow them to enter; but what sort of performance they gave, when allowed to enter, the Fathers do not tell us. They tell us only that the performers, by wearing their masks and disguising themselves as goats or bucks, make themselves gods or offer themselves up to demons. The disguises worn effect an identification of the wearers with the spirits as whom they figure; and the disguise most frequently mentioned is that in which the performer figures as a *cervulus* or as a *vetula*.

The prohibitions issued and repeated by the Church<sup>2</sup> testify to the performance of these rites from the second century to the tenth.

<sup>2</sup> See E. K. Chambers : *The Mediaeval Stage*, ii., 290 ff.



These ecclesiastical prohibitions suffice to show that in Europe, as in other parts of the world, religious rites were performed in which the celebrants wore masks and were believed to be spirits or gods; and, inasmuch as, in other parts of the world, such rites eventually became theatrical performances in which the actors continued to wear masks, the possibility that the Greek drama may have originated in the same way becomes a probability. Perhaps it may be felt, if not urged, that if in Greece these religious rites eventually became theatrical performances and the masked celebrants became actors wearing masks, then in other parts of Europe also these rites should have followed a similar line of evolution; or, if they did not, then some sufficient reason should be forthcoming to account for their failing to do so.

As we have seen, for the first thousand years of the Christian era, the attitude of the Church towards these rites and their masked celebrants was one of denunciation and prohibition. We have next to notice that the Church succeeded so far as to deprive the processions of masked figures of their originally religious significance and to make them innocuous in this respect from the Church point of view. Having done so, the Church could afford to tolerate them.

But, whereas on the Continent they survived as the *festum stultorum* and were tolerated in that form, in England the Festival of Fools did not come into being or, by native growth, spring out of them. In England, I suggest, they survived in the form of the Mummers' Play.

In the first place, the performers, the Mummers, wore, if they do not still wear, masks, as did the performers in the pagan festivities of the New Year, denounced by the Church. Next, the Mummers in England went round from house to house in the same way that St. Boniface says the performers went in procession through the streets of Rome. In England, again, the Mummers not only went from house



to house, but entered houses when allowed, and so too they did on the Continent, as we may surmise from the fact that Caesarius of Arles ordered the faithful not to allow those who "play the buck" to enter their houses. What sort of performance was gone through, when the players did enter a house, we do not learn from the ecclesiastical prohibitions; but we do know what sort of performance the Mummers' Play is, and therefore are in a position to conjecture what sort of performance was given by the masked players denounced by the Fathers from the second century A.D. onwards.

But, when we turn to the recorded versions of the Mummers' Play, we find that the words in use in various parts of England vary so much that they cannot possibly be variants of any one original form of dialogue. And yet the Mummers' Play is throughout the same institution. The words that are spoken are therefore no part of the original institution. This inference is confirmed conclusively by the derivation and meaning of the word "mummer": it is derived from "mum," and means a person who acts in silence. The Mummers' Play was in its original institution a play without words. Eventually, however, a dialogue was added to explain the dumb show. But, by the time the dialogue was added, the original meaning of the dumb show had been forgotten. Hence, in different parts of England different sets of words grew up. In one place alone—Mullion, Cornwall, up to 1890-1—did the mummers continue to be mum and to act in dumb show (*Folk-Lore*, x., 351).

Elsewhere different forms of words were introduced in different localities to explain the action that hitherto had been performed in silence. In fine, as myths in many cases are obviously attempts to explain something that needed explanation, so the various dialogues found in the Mummers' Play are, I suggest, aetiologues and grew up to explain the performance of the ceremony at a



time when its real purport and object had passed away. The various dialogues found in the English Mummers' Play are, like the myths of ancient Greece, exemplifications of the myth-making power of the people; they are the various folk-explanations of a traditional rite or ceremony, which only came to need explanation when its original purpose had been forgotten, for the very good reason that it had long ceased to exist.

In all the forms, therefore, of the Mummers' Play there should be some action which is constant and always present, though the various dialogues invented to explain it, and consequently the various characters in the dialogues, differ in different localities. On examination it will be found that there is one feature common to them all, and that the central and dominant element in the plot of all these plays. What holds together each and every one of the plays is that, in each and all of them, one of the characters is killed and brought to life again. The circumstances under which he is killed, the events which lead up to his death, his name and station may and do vary, but the one point in which there is no variation is that, for whatever reason—and the reasons given vary—the character that is killed is brought to life again. The play is a ceremonial performance, or rather it is the development in dramatic form of what was originally a religious or magical rite, representing or realising the revivification of the character slain. This revivification, which is the one essential and invariable feature of all the Mummers' Plays in England, was, we may suppose, what was performed by the players who were forbidden by the Church, elsewhere than in England, to enter the houses of the faithful.

So long as the object and purpose of the revivification—whatever the object and purpose may have been—was present to the minds of the performers and spectators of the rite, so long the rite was a living rite. When its purport began to fade from living consciousness, and the rite



continued to be performed rather as a matter of tradition and custom than from any clear consciousness of its purpose, it was on its way to becoming a mere performance and ceasing to be a piece of practical magic or a rite of religious importance. It was becoming a survival, but a survival which had before it the prospect of a renewed lease of life—of life in a different form, in the form of a performance which was to be at first indeed religious, but eventually purely dramatic.

The performance was religious in the sense that it drew its inspiration largely from mythology, from the myths present in the popular consciousness. As a matter of tradition and custom the rite continued to be performed annually, even when the original reason for the performance had been forgotten. The rite was originally performed for the purpose of representing and ensuring the revivification of the character slain. When the purpose of the rite was forgotten, the feature of the performance which specially attracted popular attention and required explanation was the killing. And the killing admitted of an easy explanation: it was the result of a fight, a celebrated fight, that is to say one well-known in the folk-lore, mythical or historical, of the neighbourhood. It was at this point that the ceremony, having lost all significance as a religious rite, definitely became dramatic, and may properly be spoken of as the Mummings' Play. The slayer and the slain were identified with figures of folk-history or folk-lore. The piece was provided with what was unknown to the rite, that is with a "hero" and a "villain" in the dramatic sense of the terms. The hero was a figure drawn from folk-lore—King Alfred, King Cole, Alexander, Hector, St. Guy, St. Giles, St. Patrick, or, most commonly, St. George—or from folk-history—Lord Nelson, Wolfe, or Wellington. The villain, also, was drawn either from folk-lore—Giant Blunderbore, Giant Turpin—or from folk-history—Bonaparte—though the villain of the piece frequently does not attain the same



individuality as does the hero, but remains vaguely a Turkish Knight, Valiant Soldier, Champion, Marshalee, Cutting Star, Captain Bluster, Colonel Spring.

But the fact—the important fact—that the ceremony was in its origin a rite and not a play is shown by the persistent way in which the revival of the slain character maintains itself as essential and indispensable to the ceremony, in spite of the difficulty of making the revival fit in with the dramatic situation. When the hero has killed the villain, there is dramatically no possible justification for reviving the villain. Yet the most striking feature in all forms of the Mummers' Play, without exception, is that the person slain is brought to life again. Since, then, there is no dramatic justification for this revival, and inasmuch as it stultifies the action of the piece, and yet is an essential—or, rather, the essential—feature of the ceremony, it can only have been retained because it was the essential feature of the rite in which the Mummers' Play had its origin.

This want of dramatic justification for the revival of the villain was evidently felt by the performers to be a dramatic *non sequitur*. The proof that they felt it to be such is afforded by the fact that they either apologised for it, or else—departing from the folk-lore version of the story—they allowed the villain to kill the hero, and so provided a dramatic reason for the revival of the slain. In about half the versions of the Mummers' Play the villain is killed, and his revival is apologised for, as, *e.g.*, in Dorsetshire by St. Patrick, on the ground that “he feels for the wives and families of the men slain.” The apology, however, was felt to be but an inadequate reason for such a violation of dramatic probability; and, accordingly, in the other half—and presumably the later half—of the versions of the Mummers' Play a dramatic justification for the revival is found in the simple device of allowing the hero instead of the villain to be killed—a device which is evidently an after-



thought, for in folk-lore combats it is not usual for the hero to be defeated.

The fact, then, that the revivification of the slain character was retained in the Mummers' Play, though apologised for, clearly indicates that in the rite from which the play was evolved the revivification was the culmination of the ceremony; it was the object and purpose for which the rite was performed. In the rite the religious or magical centre of interest was the revivification; but in the play which subsequently sprang from the rite the centre of dramatic or aesthetical interest was the combat. For the play the combat was essential, and the revival was a dramatic difficulty: for the rite the revival was the one thing essential, and it was immaterial whether the character was slain or not, so long as he was somehow dead. Not the killing but the revivification was the object and purpose of the rite. Vegetation—the corn-spirit or vegetation-spirit—dies a natural death. No magic is required to bring that about. What does demand the intervention of some rite is the revivification of the vegetation-spirit; and it was for that purpose that the rite was employed. Presumably the rite which represented the revival of the vegetation-spirit always included a representation of his death: he was bound to be presented as dead, if he was to be called to life again—it is only a Sleeping Beauty who can be awakened—but the circumstances which led to his death were of secondary interest, and might therefore be presented in different forms.

In fine, there is, I suggest, no reason inherent in the rite itself—the practical object of which was to revivify the vegetation-spirit—to suppose that the revivification was preceded by anything but a presentation of the spirit as dead. I make this suggestion for the purpose of pointing out that the rite itself does not necessarily presume that the vegetation-spirit was killed, still less that the performer of the part was sacrificed, either in reality or dramatically.



Doubtless the fact that the spirit was—necessarily—assumed to be dead would in course of time require that the circumstances leading to his death should be represented dramatically as part of the rite. Doubtless, also, one natural course for the mythopoeic tendency to take would be to conceive and represent the death as a slaughter. But this tendency, though natural enough, was neither necessary nor universal. In other words, human sacrifice was not an original element in the rite or in its dramatic presentation, and that is why no trace of it is to be found either in the Mummers' Play or in Greek drama.

Greek tragedy, I have suggested, originated in funeral ceremonies commemorating the deeds and sufferings of deceased heroes. Greek comedy, we know, originated in harvest-festivals, in some ceremony in which the harvesters went about in procession wearing masks. It is therefore plausible to conjecture that the characters represented on this occasion were the vegetation-spirit and those who were concerned in bringing about his revivification—in fine, that Greek comedy and the Mummers' Play both sprang from the rite of revivification. At first the rite was a piece of serious magic performed for a practical object: the revivification was acted, but it was acted not as a drama but as a rite, not as a spectacle but as a means of bringing about a practical end. It became a performance and a mere piece of acting gradually, and became so in proportion as its original practical object became in the eyes of the performers and the spectators of less importance than the performance of the rite itself: the performance became the thing of real importance, it occupied the foreground of consciousness, while what had originally been its practical object gradually sank into the background and ultimately disappeared entirely from the consciousness of performers and spectators alike. This is but a case of a common psychological process: what was but a means to an end tends to become an end in itself. Money, which is but a means, becomes



itself the miser's end ; the chase is pursued not for the sake of killing the fox, but for its own sake. Hunting is pursued not for the extermination of foxes : they are preserved in order that hunting may take place. So, too, the drama came to be performed not for the sake of any religious object : the Dionysia of ancient Greece owed their splendour, if not their existence, to the fact that they were the occasion for dramatic performances.

In Greece the satyric drama sprang from some rite in which the performers, the satyrs, were dressed and masked in goat-skins, and represented the goat-shaped spirits who figured in the folk-lore of the Peloponnese. We have therefore to consider whether elsewhere in Europe spirits in animal-shape were represented by masked performers, and whether the rites in which they performed were or came to be associated with the rite by which the restoration of the vegetation-spirit to life was effected.

A brief reference to the denunciations issued by the Church in the first thousand years of the Christian era will suffice to show that throughout Europe spirits in animal shape were represented by masked performers, and that this rite was performed on New Year's day in association with the rite in which the Mummers' Play had its origin. Severian lays special emphasis on the fact that men clad as animals figured as idols or objects of worship. Maximus of Turin testifies that men transfigure themselves into cattle and beasts. St. Peter Chrysologus denounces those who dress up as beasts, horses or cattle, as also does Isidore of Seville. The hanging of a calf-skin or buck's hide on the limbs of the performers must have been the conspicuous feature in this rite, for it is especially condemned in the denunciations of Pacianus, who speaks of the performer who figures as a buck as being well-known ; of Caesarius of Arles, who states that those who "play the buck" dress up as bucks. The Council of Auxerre forbids the playing of the buck or calf ; and the prohibition is repeated by



St. Eligius, St. Aldhelm, Priminus, by the Pseudo-Theodore and Regino of Prüm.

This rite, in which spirits in animal shape were represented by masked performers throughout the first thousand years of the Christian era, survived in England in connexion with the Mummers' Play. Sir Lawrence Gomme<sup>3</sup> says: "Some of the mummers, or maskers as the name implies, formerly disguised themselves as animals—goats, oxen, deer, foxes and horses being represented at different places where details of the mumming play have been recorded."

But, though the rite, in which the performers were masked as spirits of animal form, came to be associated with the rite in which the vegetation-spirit was revived, the association was external and accidental. It merely amounted to the fact that the two rites had come to be performed at the same festival. Consequently, the performers masked as animals, though they continued to go round in procession with the performers of the Mummers' Play, never had any part in the play: they take no share in the action whereby the leading character in the play is killed and revived. In Greece also the satyrs never found their way into comedy or tragedy. But in Greece the performers who were masked as animals did what they never did in England: they developed a dramatic performance of their own. That performance had—originally, at any rate—no inner connexion with the tragedies that were performed: it was given as an after-piece, simply, that had no other connexion with the tragedy except that it was performed at the same festival.

The worship of deceased ancestors, that of vegetation-spirits, and that of theriomorphic spirits, are forms of cult which existed amongst the civilised Greeks, and had been inherited by them from their uncivilised ancestors. In

<sup>3</sup> *Nature*, Dec. 23, 1897, quoted by Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, i., 214, n. 1.



## *Masks and the Origin of t.*

Greece all three forms of cult became a. and came to be incorporated in one festival, ... Elsewhere in Europe the worship of decesses even if it prevailed, as it did in Italy, did not in dramatic form; but the cult of vegetation-spir that of theriomorphic spirits gravitated first to the of the New Year and then to that of Christmas Greece all three forms were attracted to the Diony. absorbed in it. But these cults no more originated festival of the Dionysia than they did in the festi Christmas.

What is characteristic of the three cults, whe practised in the world, is that the celebrants of the were men, not women, and that the right of wearing ma was as jealously reserved to men by the Greeks and their uncivilised ancestors as by any of the many prese day savages who use masks in their religious ceremonies. I civilised Greece there was no acting without masks; and the reason for this is only to be found if we recognise that the wearing of masks in religious ceremonies was a custom handed down to the civilised Greeks from their uncivilised ancestors. If we ask why their uncivilised ancestors, like present-day savages, wore masks, the answer is that masks are worn for no other reason than to express the performer's belief, or to make the spectators believe, that the wearer is the character whom the mask portrays. So long as the belief is genuinely held, the rite—*e.g.* the rite of the restoration of the vegetation-spirit to life—is regarded as having magical effect. It is not in the opinion either of the celebrant or the congregation a mere piece of acting. But if the performance of the rite continues, even when performers and spectators no longer place any great faith in it, it is on the way to becoming a mere performance; and the merit of the performance comes to be regarded as consisting not in any magical or practical effect, external to the performance, but in the excellence of the acting



## *origin of the Greek Drama.*

moment at which the drama—whether  
Drama or the Mummers' Play—is born ; and the  
of the rite becomes an actor in the play, and  
as in the one case, as in the other, to wear the mask  
entifies him with the character that the mask  
s.

F. B. JEVONS.





# CATALOGUE OF BRAND MATERIAL.

(Continued from p. 98.)

## ROGATIONTIDE<sup>1</sup>

(viz. the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before Holy Thursday).

### ENGLAND.

#### I. Names.

#### LOCALITY.

Cross-week - - - - -	Chester, East Riding, Herts. (Bishops Stort- ford).
Gang-week - - - - -	Gerard's Herbal and Bishop Burnet. Bishop's Stortford, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
" Yange Monday " - - - - -	Essex (Stifford, 1586).
Procession-week - - - - -	Lancs. Exeter.
Vairge-day - - - - -	Newcastle-on-Tyne.

#### II. General Observance.

Perambulation of Boundaries known as :

Beating the Bounds	-	General.
Bounding	- - -	Suffolk.
Bannering	- - -	Staffs. (Shenstone), Shrewsbury.
Processioning	- - -	Yarnton, Oxford, Wolver- hampton, Lancs.
Possessioning	- - -	Exeter.
Rammalation	- - -	Yorks. (East Riding, Beverley).
Going a Ganging	- - -	Suffolk (Little Cornard).

<sup>1</sup> Marriage anciently prohibited, Rogation Sunday to Trinity Sunday.



## Performance of Ceremony recorded in :

Berkshire : Cumnor.  
 Cambridgeshire : Whittlesford.  
 Cheshire : Chester, Wallasey.  
 Devonshire : East Budleigh (obs. 1854), Exeter<sup>1</sup> (obs. 1855).  
 Essex : Brightlingsea (Qy. modern ?), Stifford.  
 Herefordshire : Hereford (obs. 1890), Ross, Eardisley.  
 Hertfordshire : Abbots Langley, Barnet, Bengoe, Bishop's Stortford.  
 Lancashire : Kirkham le Fylde.  
 Leicestershire : Leicester (every three years).  
 Lincolnshire : Lincoln.  
 London : Liberties of the Tower.<sup>1</sup>  
 Norfolk : Norwich.  
 Northants :  
 Northumberland :<sup>1</sup> Newcastle, Rothbury (1793), Warkworth and Newbiggin.  
 Oxfordshire : Oxford (St. Mary's), Stanlake, Yarnton.  
 Shropshire : Ludlow, Shrewsbury.<sup>1</sup>  
 Somerset.  
 Staffordshire : Lichfield,<sup>1</sup> Shenstone (every seven years), Wolverhampton.  
 Suffolk : Little Cornard, Hawstead, Wenhaston.  
 Wilts. : Marlborough.  
 Yorkshire : Barmby Moor (every seven years), Beverley,<sup>1</sup> Flaxton, Forest of Galtres, Hornsea, Masham, Ripon, Water Fulford,<sup>1</sup> Whitby,<sup>1</sup> York.

III. *Local Details of Observance.*

## LOCALITY.

## (a) Procession headed by :

Mayor and Corporation	-	Bristol, Marlborough, Norwich, Oxford.
Do., with Trinity House authorities	- - -	Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Borough Grieve and Freemen		Warkworth.
Steward of the Manor (later, the Court Leet Jury)	-	Newbury (Berks.).
Lieutenant of the Tower	-	The Tower Liberties.
Chief Forester	- - -	Forest of Galtres (Yorks.).
Clergy and Churchwardens	-	Parochial Boundaries (general).
Schoolmaster	- - -	The Fylde (Lancs.).

<sup>1</sup>See under Ascension Day.



(b) Religious Ceremonies.

LOCALITY.

- Gospel read at wells, trees  
and crosses - - - Lichfield, Wednesbury,  
Wolverhampton, Bur-  
pham, Wallasey, Lud-  
low.
- „ in cornfields before the  
Civil Wars - - - (Aubrey).
- „ at barrel-head in inn-  
cellar - - - Stanlake (Oxon.).
- Ps. civ. and " Old Hundredth "  
sung - - - Newbury (Berks.).
- Benedicite sung - - - Wallasey, 1666.
- Intercessions offered, for sea-  
men, for welfare of parish,  
for fruits of the earth - Brightlingsea (Qy. modern).

(c) Water Ceremonies.

- Authorities cross river - Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- Authorities cross river, seize  
twigs, receive due from  
ferryman, and give water  
to crowd - - - Cumnor (1813).
- Mayor fishes in stream and  
leads duck-hunt in pond - Bristol.
- Mayor presents prize besom  
or byzant, as due for use of  
wells - - - Shaftesbury (Dorset).
- Boys dam up gutters on pre-  
vious days and bespatter  
passengers. Called " strat-  
ting " - - - Exeter.
- Blessing Wells, see Ascension Day.

(d) Stone Ceremonies.

- Coins placed on boundary or  
" liberty stones " - Hereford.
- Boy who first reaches boun-  
dary stone gets 1s. - Beverley.
- Bread " scrambled for " from  
boundary stone - Flaxton (Yorks.).
- Boys pelted " battering  
stone," and expected re-  
ward if they broke it - Whitby.
- Gospel stone strewed with  
flowers - - - Wallasey, 1666.
- Freemen admitted by bang-  
ing against stones - Newbiggin, Warkworth.



(e) Plant Ceremonies.	LOCALITY.
May boughs (hawthorn) <i>cut</i> and carried - - -	Wednesbury.
Elm-boughs carried ; houses adorned with them - -	Lichfield.
Green boughs, not specified, carried - - -	Ripon.
Birch rods carried ; birch bough tied to bridge con- tended for - - -	Ludlow.
Willow-wands carried - -	The Fylde (Lancs.). The City, The Tower, Ox- ford, Forest of Galtres.
" Gads " carried - - -	Exeter.
Poles tipped with posies carried - - -	Wolverhampton, Shrews- bury.
Poles tipped with ribbons carried - - -	Hereford.
Milkwort, called Gang-flower or Rogation-flower used in posies and garlands - -	Suffolk, etc.
Bunches of sedge laid on doorsteps ; clerk hit with them - - -	York (All SS.).
Boy put in oak-tree, fumi- gated with burning straw	Hereford.
" Youling " (wassailing) apple-orchards - - -	Kent (Keston, Wickham).
(f) Fights, etc.	
Enquired into by authority -	Lincoln (1223).
" Gads " and " banner- poles " as weapons - -	Exeter, Shrewsbury.
Otterton parishioners ducked East Budleigh men - -	1854.
Head of new parish officer held in hole in ground, while he is beaten with shovel - - -	Leicester (St. Mary).
Cock-throwing and crockery- breaking at boundary -	York (Water Fulford).
Scrambling for money, nuts, oranges -	Beverley.
,, ,, staylaces, pins, biscuits -	Whitby.



Scrambling for apples and	LOCALITY.
oranges -	Berks. (Bucklersbury).
bread -	Yorks. (Flaxton).
,,   ,,	
(g) Feasts and Doles.	
Beer supplied by friends, or	
by churchwardens - - -	General.
Doles—white bread to women	
and children -	Hornsea.
,,   buns, bread and	
cheese, etc., to boys	Common.
Dinners - - - - -	Newbury, East Budleigh,
	Norwich, Wolverhampton,
	Hornsea.
Legacies to defray cost -	Cheshire (many).
	Cambs. (Whittlesford).
	Bucks. (Clifton Keynes,
	Hasborne, Crawley,
	Edgcote).
Men excommunicated for	
neglecting to provide	
“ bread and drink accord-	
ing to the ancient custom ”	Yorks. (Masham).

#### IV. *Special Local Observance.*

Fair (held from Sunday to	
Saturday : ale sold under	
bush) - - - - -	Lancs. (Inglewhite).

### ASCENSION DAY, OTHERWISE HOLY THURSDAY.

#### I. *Natural Phenomena.*

	LOCALITY.
Lamb appears in sun - - -	Devon (near Exeter),
	( <i>Gent. Mag.</i> 1787).
Weather on, affects Whit Monday	(? Locality).
,,   ,,   autumn weather	Devon.
Rain on, cures sore eyes - -	Northants. (Marston St.
	Lawrence).
	Oxon. (Banbury).
	Warwick.
	Worc., S.E.
	Salop (Harley, Much
	Wenlock, Edgmond).



Rain on, bread made with, will be light - - - - -	LOCALITY. Warwick (nr. Rugby)
Hawthorn gathered on, safeguards from lightning - - - - -	Staffs. (Eccleshall).
Egg laid on, hung up in roof, pro- tects from lightning - - - - -	(1584).
Rooks do not build on - - - - -	Salop (Clee Hills).
No birds build on - - - - -	Sheffield.

## II. General Observances.

### (a) Things Forbidden.

Barkers and "pillers" do not climb trees - - - - -	Sheffield.
Clothes must not be hung out to dry - - - - -	Northants.
Clothes must not be hung out to dry "or there will be a death in the family" - - - - -	Lincs. (Kirton-in-Lin- sey). Sheffield.

### (b) Observances at Wells.

Drinking - - - - -	Yorks. (Hinderwell).
„ (sugar sops from font) - - - - -	Oxford (St. Aldate's).
Bathing - - - - -	Cornwall (St. Gunred, St. Roche). Devon (North Molton). Lincs. (Burnham, nr. Haxey).
Offering Pins, etc. - - - - -	Cornwall (St. Roche, St. Gunred). Devon (Hatherleigh, St. Mary's). Salop (Rorrington).
Well-dressing.	
(1) with merrymaking - - - - -	Salop (Rorrington). Cheshire (Nantwich, c. 1750). Devon (Hatherleigh, St. Mary's—no decoration). Lincs. (Louth, St. Helen's and Aswell).



(2) with religious ceremonies	-	-	-	LOCALITY.
				Derbyshire (Tissington Roston <sup>1</sup> ).
				Staffs. (Bilbrook, Brewood, Shenstone; St. Chad's, Lichfield; St. Modwen's, Burton; Canwell).

Visiting Wells in course of Perambulation	-	-	-	Berks. (Sunnywell, 1688). Cheshire (17th cent.). Lincs. (Louth). Oxford (Strowell, before 1600). Lichfield Close. Wolverhampton.
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(c) Perambulations (see *ante*, " Rogationtide ").

Carried out on Ascension

Day at	-	-	-	Exeter (obs. 1855). Liberty of the Tower. City of London. Newcastle-on-Tyne. Shrewsbury, Lichfield, Beverley, York, Whitby.
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(d) Friendly Society Processions.

At	-	-	-	Leicester (Hallaton). Oxon. (Finstock, Fawler). Yorks. (Bolton by Bowland).
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(e) Bell-ringing.

Peals rung at	-	-	-	Beds. (Tilworth). Herts. (Abbot's Langley, Baldock, Ickleford). Lincs. (North Coates, Heydon).
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#### IV. *Special Local Observances.*

Pleasure Fairs at	-	-	-	Essex (Havering). Leic. (Loughborough, Hallaton). Salop (Wem). <sup>2</sup>
Smock-races	-	-	-	Northumbd. (Newburn).

<sup>1</sup> Qy. modern ?

<sup>2</sup> ? Once a hiring fair.



	LOCALITY.
" Bolderstone Dannikins " (a feast of custards under a tree on Bolderstone Green) - - -	Yorks. (near Sheffield
Ram-hunt - - - - -	Eton School.
" Hunting the Earl of Rone " (effigy carried through the town on a donkey, introduced into Mummers' Play. Contributions expected) - - - - -	Devon (Combe Martin). <sup>1</sup>
The " Boys' Bailiff " (a " Mock Mayor " perambulation with wooden swords worn on the right side. Contributions expected) -	Salop (Much Wenlock).
The " Penny-Hedge " erected. (Land held by service of making a fence below high-water mark) -	Yorks. (Whitby).
Privilege of getting young trees from forest. - - - - -	Oxon. (Finstock, Fawler).
Maypoles erected - - - - -	Oxford, 1660.

### WALES.

#### I. *General Observances.*

##### (a) Unlucky Actions.

To dig, plant, or sow - - -	" Many parts of Wales."
Quarrymen will not work for fear of accidents - - -	Bethesda slate-quarries, near Bangor.

##### (b) Wells visited - - -

Pins offered - - -	Denbighsh. (Bodfari). Flint (Caerwys).
Sugar and water drunk -	Barry Island. Glamorganshire (Cow-bridge).

##### (c) Beating the bounds - - -

Denbighsh. (Rhuddlan), 1895.

### SCOTLAND.

Common Riding (? date) - - -	Selkirk.
" Riding the hagri " (? date) - - -	Shetland.

### ISLE OF MAN.

Wells visited, flowers or rags offered, for cure of disease.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Polperro Jack-a-Lent.



# WHITSUNTIDE.

## ENGLAND.

### I. *Name.*

Gaping or Gawping Saturday (the	LOCALITY.
Saturday in Whit-week) - -	Manchester.

### II. *General Observances.*

#### (a) Things forbidden or unlucky.

To cut nails on Whit Monday  
brings ill-luck in love - Locality ?.

#### (b) Things enjoined.

To wear new clothes - - Yorks. (E. Riding).  
Yorks. (W. Riding, Bolton by Bowland).

„ otherwise the birds will  
foul you - - - Yorks. (Cleveland), Cornwall.

„ for luck - - - Suffolk.

#### (c) Viands prescribed.

Dole of milk given - - Oxford (Middle Ages).

„ „ - - South Salop (Severn Valley).

„ „ - - Warwickshire (Wootton Wawen, 18th cent.).

Milk, clotted cream, junkets,  
cream-cake - - - Cornwall.

Cheesecakes - - - Durham, Norfolk, N.  
Yorks. (Arkengarthdale).

Custards - - - Suffolk.

First gooseberry pie - - Suffolk, Staffs., Cheshire,  
Salop, Herefordshire,  
Gloucestershire, Middlesex.

Cakes (Aubrey).

Cakes made with layers of  
paste, sugar and spices - Lincs.

#### (d) Observances with Plants.

Chaplets of roses worn (Chaucer, *qy. ref. ?*).

Hazel wands carried in Club  
procession - - - Sussex (Harting).

Beech-boughs marked out  
highway - - - Sussex (Harting).



Churches adorned with :				LOCALITY.
Flowers	-	-	-	St. Aldhelm's Chapel, Purbeck Island.
Flowers and asparagus (1835) Cheshire (Farndon).				
Roses (1702)	-	-	-	Staffs. (Bilston).
Birch-boughs	-	-	-	Herefs. (King's Pyon, Ledbury).
				Salop (Atcham, Hordley, Kenley, Shrewsbury).
				Staffs. (Bilston).
				Suffolk (Raydon St. Mary).
				Hants. (Monk Sherborne).
				Worc. (Shrawley).
Yew	-	-	-	Herefsh. (Kingston).
Budding twigs	-	-	-	Essex (Heybridge).
Churches strewn with :				
Rushes	-	-	-	Glos. (St. Mary Redcliff, Sherrington).
Rushes and hay	-	-	-	<i>Ibid</i> (South Cerney).
Grass	-	-	-	<i>Ibid</i> . (Turley and Haw).
				Somerset (Yatton).
" Flower Sermons " preached				London (St. Leonard's, Shoreditch ; St. James' Aldgate).

## (e) Observances with Waters.

Children suck liquorice-water  
from bottles on Whit Mon-  
day. Hence called " Bottl-  
ing Day " <sup>1</sup> - - - Derbysh. (Chapel-en-le-  
Frith).

Mill-leat dried Sunday even-  
ing. Lamb roasted in bed  
of stream - - - Devon (King's Teign-  
ton).

" Font-hallowing," Whitsun  
Eve - - - London (St. Mary at Hill).

## (f) Games, Sports and Pastimes.

Dramatic performances (Mediaeval) :

Civic (removed from Cor-  
pus Christi in 15th cent.) Norwich, Chester.  
" (performed by  
scholars) - - - Shrewsbury.

<sup>1</sup> This is the only Whitsuntide water-custom met with so far. Contrast Ascension Day and Trinity Sunday, and compare Irish Whitsuntide superstitions.



	LOCALITY.
Parochial (Churchwardens in church, 1552). - -	Essex (Heybridge).
„ (“ Caymes Pageant,” 16th cent.) -	Reading. <sup>1</sup>
Morris-dancing - - -	S. Salop (Broseley, 1656). Glos. (Blakeney). Chester (1790). Oxon., Herefordshire. Berks. (Reading, Abing- don). Northants. (Brackley, 1766). Lancs. (Brindle).
Dancing - - - -	Glos. (Avening, Cherring- ton). Salop (Ashford Carbonel). Yorks. (Hornsea). Lancs. (Downham).
Maypoles - - - -	Oxon. (Ducklington, Woodstock, Chalgrove). Hants. (Hurstbourne Tarrant, St. Mary Bourne). Glos. (Cooper's Hill Common, nr. Birdlip ; Pagan Hill, nr. Stroud). Salop (Ludlow).
Cudgel-play - - -	Berks (general). Hants. (Stubington till 18th cent.).
Ball and other games as on Shrove Tuesday - -	Alnwick.
Runaway-blow at fairs -	Lancs.
“ Cock-squailing ” (throwing at cocks) - - - -	Dorset.
Kiss-in-the-ring or Drop handkerchief (called gages in N. Devon) - - -	Devon (specially) and elsewhere.
Thread-the-Needle played at Greenwich Fair - -	Greenwich.

<sup>1</sup> The King Play (King Game or Kyng Ale) is also mentioned in 16th cent. parochial accounts, but may have been only a Church Ale with King and Queen of May. The “tree of the Kyng play late stondyng in the marcatt place” was sold in 1516-17 for 12d.



Thread-the-Needle, at Aln-	LOCALITY.
wick on the Pasture -	Northumbd. (Alnwick).
Match at trap-ball between	
old women (Hone) - -	Suffolk (Bury).

### III. *Local Observances.*

(Out-door assemblies for merrymaking form the leading feature of Whitsuntide observance.)

(a) Whitsun Ales, Church Ales. <sup>1</sup>	LOCALITY.
The following list includes	
Church Ales only, noting	
local peculiarities.	
Ale drunk in the Church -	Berks. (Reading), 1506.
Church-house, and parish	
utensils - - - -	Devon (Chudleigh).
	Glos. (Minchinhampton,
	1603, 1611).
Tithe-barn used - - -	Wilts. (Kingston St.
	Michael, Aubrey).
Feast provided by customary	
contributions in kind -	Lincs. (Grimsby).
	Glos. (Child's Wickham).
Miller of Biddenham provided	
malt gratis - - -	Beds. (Biddenham).
Two young men yearly	
chosen to collect funds and	
provisions - - -	Cornwall (1602).
Girls gathered money under	
tree in churchyard - -	Berks. (Reading, 1505).
Brewing forbidden during	
brewing for the Ale, 1461,	
and sale of liquor till all	
Ale consumed, 1464 -	Wilts. (Castle Combe).
Villages agreed to attend	
each others' Ales - -	Derbysh. (Elvaston and
	Ockbrook).
Ales held regularly to 1548,	
then a loss of 7s. 6d. :	
dropped till 1559, recom-	
menced with profit - -	Sussex (Tarring).

<sup>1</sup>Ales were festivals got up by local authorities to raise funds for public purposes by the sale of drink, usually at Easter or Whitsuntide. A "bower" or booth was generally erected and the festivity was presided over by a "Lord" and a "Lady," who were attended by mace-bearers, morris-dancers, etc., and held a mock court of justice with laws and penalties.



	LOCALITY.
Ales recorded 1620 and 1641	Oxon. (Yarnton).
Ales continued to 1785 -	Northants. (Gutworth).
„ „ to beginning 19th cent. -	<i>Ibid.</i> (King's Sutton).
View of Ale depicted on north wall of Church. Survival into 18th cent. Maypole erected - - -	Glos. (Cirencester).
Ales customary in 1788 (Rudder) - - - -	Glos. (generally).
Ales continued to 1805 or 6 (Maypole erected) - -	Oxon. (Chalgrove).
Ales continued to 1841. Man carried about on wooden horse - - -	Oxon. (Hampton Foyle).

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“ Cobb Ale,” to repair pier.  
Mayor was Lord. Held  
1376 onwards - - - Dorset (Lyme Regis).

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(b) Local Festivals connected with  
Rights and Privileges.

Whitsun Ale, every 7 years, with Bowery and full cere- monies. Maypole erected. Continued from Ascension Day to Trinity Sunday. Whit Sunday chief day. Wood claimed from Wych- wood Forest. Right of way maintained - - -	Oxon. (Woodstock).
Whit-hunt. Right of hunting deer in Wychwood Forest exercised. Maypole bower, Lord and Lady, morris- dancing, etc., the whole week - - - -	Oxon. (Hailey, Crawley, Witney, Ducklington, etc.).
Right of cutting wood and hunting deer claimed. Lord and Lady chosen on Whitsunday - - -	Oxon. (Burford).



	LOCALITY.
Whit Sunday. Bread and Cheese scrambled for in Churchyard. Parishioners pay 1d. each and maintain right of cutting wood in Hudnalls (cf. <i>Revel</i> ) - -	Glos. (St. Briavels).
Whit Monday. Maypole erected: Cheese rolled down hill and run for by lads, to maintain right of common - - - -	Glos. (Cooper's Hill Common, nr. Birdlip).
"Mayor of the City" elected to defend rights of common to inhabitants of that portion of the town <sup>1</sup> -	Berks. (Newbury).
Whit Monday. Commons held by service of drawing timber into Abbey Yard. (If they could get it out again, it was theirs) -	Oxon. (Ensham).
Whit Monday. "Pole Fair" every 20 years by charter of Queen Elizabeth, freeing Corby men from road and bridge tolls. Roads barricaded, toll exacted from strangers on pain of "poling" or stocks - -	Northants. (Corby).
(c) Festivals not connected with any special Community.	
Wrekin Wakes. <sup>2</sup> (Sunday, Monday and Tuesday) -	Salop (Wrekin).
Athletic Sports, <sup>2</sup> Whit Monday (16th cent.) - -	Leic. (Burrow Hill).
"Convivial Assembly," <sup>2</sup> Wednesday - - -	Herefsh. (Capel Jump Barrow).
Another mentioned by Stukeley <sup>1</sup> - - - -	ShIPLEY Hill.
"Scouring the White Horse" (not invariably at Whitsuntide) - - - -	Berkshire.

<sup>1</sup> Date of election not stated, but entry placed here for convenience.

<sup>2</sup> Prehistoric mounds exist on all these sites.



Sports on Dover's Hill, Thursday (17th cent.)	- -	LOCALITY. Cotswolds.
Unchartered Tryste Fair on Whitsunbank Hill	- -	Northumbd. (Wooler).
(d) Trade Festivals.		
The College Cooks " fetched in the fly "	- - -	Oxford (17th cent.).
Millers' Procession at Whit-Monday Fair	- - -	Leic. (Hinckley).
Milkmaids' Garland and dancing, <sup>1</sup> Whit Monday	-	East Riding (Hornsea).
Fishermen's Guild, Whit Monday	- - - -	Norwich.
(e) Whitsuntide Fairs.		
" Wakes and fairs at Whitsuntide " noted 1685	-	Suffolk.
" Show-fair " : trades' procession	- - - -	Warwicksh. (Hinckley).
" Whistle-peg Fair." Three-cornered cakes of puff-paste containing currants, eaten	- - - -	Cheshire (Knutsford).
Lads and lasses chalk each others' backs overnight : hence called " Chalk-back neet "	- - - -	East Riding (Bridlington).
Neighbours attend with clubs " to keep order " (?)	-	<i>Ibid.</i> (Little Driffield).
Whitsuntide the great pleasure fair of the year	-	<i>Ibid.</i> (Norton).
Other fairs	- - - -	Cornwall (Redruth).
"	- - - -	Glos. (Evesham).
"	- - - -	Wilts. (Corsley).
Stow Fair—Bush inns. " Mayor " exacted toll, and punished by ducking or stocks <sup>2</sup>	- - - -	Monm. (Newport).

<sup>1</sup> The cattle were turned into the fresh grass on Old May Day, but the gaieties took place at Whitsuntide.

<sup>2</sup> *Mock Mayors.* The following cases occur among our Whitsuntide Notes :

" Mayor of Bewdley Street," *e.* Whit Wednesday - - - - - Glos. (Evesham).

" Mayor of Headington," *e.* Whit Wednesday at Marsh

" Bush " (*i.e.* Bush-house fair) - - - - - Oxon. (Headington).



## (f) Village Feasts and Revels

## LOCALITY.

Water shut off from mill-stream and bed of stream cleansed, Wednesday afternoon. Ram lamb taken round village, Monday, killed and roasted on Tuesday (formerly in dry bed of stream). Flesh sold in slices. Sports ensue	-	Devon (King's Teign-ton).
Feasts with Morris-dancing	-	Oxon. (General).
„ with Mock Mayor	-	Oxon. (Headington; and see note below). <sup>1</sup>
Feasts with Dancing	-	Yorks. (Headley).
„ with Dancing led by King and Queen	-	Lancs. (Downham).
„ with Dancing in St. Aldhelm's (ruined) chapel (Thursday)	-	Dorset (Worth).
„ "Singing-feast" <sup>2</sup>	-	Leic. (Wymondham).
Revels, <sup>3</sup> with cudgel-play (called "back-swording")	-	Berks. (Peppard, Bucklebury, Woodley).
„ with cudgel-play and "bush-houses"	-	<i>Ibid.</i> (East Lockinge).
„ with bush-houses	-	Oxon. (Headington, "Marsh Bush Revel").
„ with cock-shies, wrestling, sports and bush-houses	-	Devon (General).
„ with racing	-	Glos. (St. Briavel's).

"Mayor of the City," Newbury, *e.* to defend Common rights of inhabitants of that part of the town - Berks. (Newbury).

"Mayor of Stow Fair." Bush houses. (Part of town of) Newport (Mon.).

Man carried about on wooden horse - Oxon. (Hampton Foyl).

Mock Guilds with Mayors. Whit Monday and Tuesday Norfolk (Norwich and Costessy).

<sup>1</sup> See note 2 on p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> Particulars wanted.

<sup>3</sup> Qy. if there is more than a local difference of nomenclature between a feast and a revel?



Club-feasts (with processions).	LOCALITY.
General in - - -	Somerset (Stoke Courcy). Wilts. (Corsley). Berks. (Kennet Valley).
Carrying hazel-wands -	Sussex (Harting).
With morris-dancing -	Oxon. (Bampton).
" Breaking-out at tide-time," <i>i.e.</i> drunkenness	Hants. (Otterbourne).
" Three Kings " Club (Tuesday) - - -	Worc. (Hanley Castle).
School-feasts (with processions) - - -	Manchester. West Riding (Clifton and Hartshead). Norwich (Necton).

(g) Business Festivals.

" Greenhill Bower " (once Municipal Court of Array) still kept up - - -	Staffs. (Lichfield).
" Ratby Meadow Mowing " (Owners let common meadow and dine on proceeds with gift to Leicester Hospital) - - -	Leicestersh. (Ratby).
Hiring Fairs - - -	Cumberland.

(h) Other Business Transactions.

" Pentecostals," or Whitsun Farthings, due, 1663 -	Warwick.
„ paid, up to 19th cent.	Worc. (Castle Morton).
„ carried in procession to Evesham Abbey -	Worc. (Ch. Honeyborn and others).
" Streamers " (tinnerns) sell in at Whitsuntide market	Cornwall.
Land, called " Red Spears," held by service of riding through Penrith on Whit Tuesday, brandishing spears - - -	Cumberland (Hesket).
Spring-sown fields fenced -	Worc. (Clent).
Harvesters engaged : gloves given - - -	Suffolk (Hawsted).



## WALES.

I. *Name.*

## LOCALITY.

II. *Natural Phenomena.*

- The sun dances on rising - - 1652.  
 A prayer offered at sunrise cannot  
 fail to be granted - - 1652.

III. *General Observances.*

- (a) Whit-Monday. Early rising.  
 Sloth punished by the  
 stocks - - - South Wales.  
 Whit-Monday. Farm-boys  
 roused villagers and tied  
 nettles to the doors of  
 sluggards - - - South Wales.  
 (b) Pins thrown into certain  
 parishes for luck - - South Wales.  
 (c) House-to-house visitation.  
 Boy in girl's clothes adorned  
 with flowers and leaves,  
 taken about with songs to  
 solicit gifts - - - South Wales.  
 Girl, gaily dressed, taken in  
 like manner. Both 18th  
 cent. - - - South Wales.  
 (d) Morris-dancing.  
 9 men, a fool, and a man  
 called Morgan, in woman's  
 clothes, with blackened  
 face. Sometimes also a  
 Jack-in-the-Green - - South Wales.

## SCOTLAND.

*Observances.*

## Fairs and Perambulations.

- Town gate adorned with flowers at  
 Fair - - - Dunbar.  
 Part of Marches ridden Whitsun-  
 day, 1665, changed to third  
 Monday in May, 1702, owing to  
 Dunblane Whit Monday Fair - Peebles.  
 Marches ridden day after Whitsun-  
 tide Fair, called Landsmark or  
 Lange mark Day - - - Lanark.



"Milk Day" in schools. Scholars made gifts to master or mistress and were treated to curds and cream. *Probably Whitsuntide.*

Servants hired and houses taken at fixed date in May, *nomi- nally Whitsuntide.*

# IRELAND.

## I. *Natural Phenomena.*

## LOCALITY.

- A child born on Whitsunday will either kill or be killed. (Remedy, mock-burial or naming after a saint) - - - - - Kildare.
- A blow from a Whit-Monday child is dangerous. Let a fly die in his hand as a precaution - - - Louth.
- A Whit-Monday foal will be vicious, unless mock-burial be performed *Ibid.*
- A Whit-Monday calf is passed through an earthen tunnel - Cavan.
- Whit-Monday chickens smothered Kildare.
- It is unlucky to go near or on water on Whit-Monday, unless a bride steers the boat.
- The drowned ride over the waves on white horses - - - (P. H. Ditchfield).
- Sickness is dangerous. A sick person must not be left alone or without light for fear of the fairies.
- Fairies steal young men on Whitsunday.

## II. *Observances.*

- House sprinkled with holy water to keep away fairies.
- Milk-food and bread eaten.
- Whitsuntide Garland, see Easter.
- Children and cattle passed through the fire : blood poured out.
- Obsolete.

## III. *Local Observances.*

### Whit Sunday.

- Penance on Holy Island (Scariff Bay). 280 circuits of the island made, gradually diminishing till they merely walk round the church - - - - - Holy Island.
- Visits to St. Gobinet's Well - Ballyvourney.



" Whistle " or Whitsun Monday.

LOCALITY.

" Patron " at Old Lea.

Dances at Irishtown, near  
Dublin.

Visits to St. Gobinet's Well - Kilshanich.

Thursday.

Pilgrimage to image of St.

Gubinet, prayers offered

against smallpox - - - Cork (Ballyvourney),  
1727.

GUERNSEY.

Militia exercised, Whit Monday.

## TRINITY SEASON.

### ENGLAND.

#### I. *General Observances.*

##### (a) Viands prescribed.

Cheesecakes - - - Yorks. (Bishopthorpe,  
Stokesley, Cleveland,  
South Cave).

Peas cooked in shells - - - Whitby.

##### (b) Observances with Waters.

(Sunday). Feast at Roan  
Well - - - Yorks. (Swaledale).

(Monday). Well-dressing at  
brine springs (Aubrey<sup>1</sup>) - Droitwich.

" Unfailing spring " supplied  
water for tea at Caradoc  
Hill Wake - - - Salop.

##### (c) Observances with Plants.

Processions with flower gar-  
lands - - - Formerly common (?).

Garland given (see II. (c) ) - Wilts. (Newnton).

Church (Holy Trinity) strewed  
with grass and rushes by  
bequest - - - Lincs. (Clee).

##### (d) Games, Sports and Pastimes.

Wrestling for harvest gloves  
at Wake (Sunday) - - - Salop (Caradoc Hill).

<sup>1</sup> *Remains*, p. 71. On p. 33 the date is given as St. Richard's Day, April 3rd.



	LOCALITY.
Races, etc. <sup>1</sup> - - -	Yorks. (Stokesley).
Skittles played by girls (Tuesday) - - -	Devon (Meavy Oak).
Dancing at Wake. (Monday)	Worcestershire (Claines).
Morris-dancing - - -	Oxon.

## II. *Local Observances.*

### (a) Church Ales.

Ale formerly held, see Church- wardens' accounts - -	Glos. (Minchinhampton).
Bequest for (1480) - -	Kent (Hoo).

### (b) Lamb-Ales.

Lamb raced for by girls with hands tied, afterwards killed and eaten. Winning girl is Lady of the Ale -	Oxon. (Eynsham).
Full ceremonies, "Bowery," etc., as at Whitsuntide -	<i>Ibid.</i> (Kidlington and Kirtlington).

### (c) Parochial Feasts.

Garland given by Bachelor to Maiden, with mutual kisses and religious ceremonial ; subsequent supper and Ale. To commemorate gift of Common by King Athel- stan (Aubrey) - - -	Wilts. (Newnton).
Guild "drinking," 1496 -	Walsall.
Church strewn (see I. (c) ) -	Lincs. (Clee).
Quarrels settled and matches made by fisherfolk - -	Yorks. (Redcar, Staithes).
Mock Mayor chosen at Feast	Northumbd. (Embleton).
	Yorks. (Bishopthorpe).

### (d) Fairs.

"Trinity Fair" ; ale sold under bush. Formerly Church Ale (see (a) ) -	Glos. (Minchinhampton).
Sunday Fairs - - -	Yorks. (Redcar, Salt- burn, Skinninggrave, Lackenby).

<sup>1</sup> See also Lamb Ales.



Kirkham Bird-Fair. Cage-	LOCALITY.
birds sold at 2 a.m. on	
bridge over River Der-	
went, between N. and E.	
Ridings. Later, pleasure	
fair held - - - -	Yorks. (Kirkham).
Trinity Monday. Trinity	
Board meeting. Pleasure	
Fair - - - -	Deptford.
Saturday to Wednesday.	
Mayor's Glove on pole	
denotes Fair open - -	Southampton.
Saturday to Wednesday.	
(Charter 1291). Now a	
pleasure fair only - -	Yorks. (South Cave).

## WALES.

## I. General Observances.

## (a) Observances with Water.

Bathing on Trinity Sunday	
prevents tertian ague.	
Sugar and water drunk at	
wells (10 noted in <i>Bye-</i>	
<i>gonies</i> ) - - - -	Flint and Montgomery-
	shire.
Two of these reputed curative	Guilsfield and Bettws.
Bathing in well and night	
spent on tomb of St. Beuno	Clynog.
Shouting and singing hymns	
at wells - - - -	Guilsfield.
Several wells called Trinity	
wells because in them three	
springs unite their streams.	
Well-wakes without water-	
drinking - - - -	Llanvorda, Long Moun-
	tain.
Sprinkling, dancing, and	
merrymaking by young	
people at Taff's Well -	Cardiff.

## (b) Business transacted.

Calves and lambs due to St. Beuno (*i.e.* those with peculiarly-marked ears), handed over to church-wardens.



SCOTLAND.

- I. *Name.* LOCALITY.  
 "Trantimas," probably obsolete. St. Andrews.

II. *Observances.*

- (a) Trades' Procession, 8 Guilds - Dunfermline.  
 (b) Fairs, etc.  
     Marches ridden on Eve of  
         Trinity Fair - - - Edinburgh.  
     St. Ninian's Fair (Wednesday). (St. Ninian's Chapel  
         and Spring outside the  
         town) - - - Aberbrothock.  
     Trinity Fair. Chartered by  
         Robert Bruce - - - Aberdeen.  
     Cattle Fair on Trinity or  
         Tarnty Muir outside the  
         town, second Wednesday  
         in June. (Cathedral  
         Church dedicated to Holy  
         Trinity) - - - Brechin.  
 (c) Games, Sports and Pastimes.  
     Dancing on Trinity Sunday  
         at Raderny (1599) - - St. Andrews.

IRELAND.

- "Priests' Haggart" (qy ?) on Trinity Sunday.  
 St. Fintan's Patron - - - Wexford.

CORPUS CHRISTI

*(Held Thursday after Trinity Sunday ; instituted 1264).*

ENGLAND.

- I. *Observances with Waters.* LOCALITY.  
     Cure for all diseases. To drink of  
         St. Madron's well overnight,  
         sleep all night on his tomb, and  
         drink again more largely in the  
         morning of Corpus Christi - Cornwall.



II. *Local Festival Observances.*

## LOCALITY.

Plays given - - - -	Ashburton, Boston (by Grey Friars), York, Reading.
„ with Procession - -	Chester, Coventry, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Processions without Plays - -	Durham (till <i>circa</i> 1800). Hereford, Norwich, Oswestry, Shrewsbury (till 1878), Southam (Warw.). London (Skinners' Co. schools retained it till 1822).
Church-Ale organised by Corpus Christi Guild—held on ground still called Corpus Christi - -	Plymouth.

## WALES.

*Local Observances.*

- (a) Customary to pray for health before the altar on Corpus Christi night. (Supernatural interposition in favour of the practice) - - - - Glamorgansh.
- Sleeping on tombs for cure of disease - - - - Monmouth (Christ Ch.).  
Caerleon (Christ Church).  
Clynog.
- (b) Observances with Plants.
- Ferns strewn before doors on Eve - - - - Caerwys.
- (c) Games.
- “Knappan” played between districts - - - - S. Cardiganshire.

## IRELAND.

- Called Rushy Thursday. Rushes strewn outside doors - - - - Cork.
- Procession, Tournament, Games, Sunday after Corpus Christi - - - - Dublin.



SIXTEENTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY.

*Name.* “ Goose Intentos ” (Blount).

NINETEENTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY.

Woodcocks expected.

LAST SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY.

*Name.* “ Stir-up Sunday ” (General), or “ Stirrup-Sunday ” (Lincs.).

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END OF MOVEABLE FEASTS.

(To be continued.)





## COLLECTANEA.

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### THE PHARMAKOS.

YEARS ago I began to wonder why the Greek scapegoat or outcast of the festival of the Thargelia was called a Pharmakos. I could not understand what connection there could be between the Greek words *φάρμακον* and *φαρμακεύω* and the scapegoat that many have called the Human Medicine. However, the matter passed out of my mind till I got a copy of the second edition of *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, and there Professor Murray's remarks in Appendix A brought the matter back to me. Professor Murray seemed to believe it was probably a foreign word, and, noting the long *A* in the Ionic, suggested that in Attic the *A* was short from analogy with *φάρμακον*. This seemed to imply that he regarded *Pharmakos*, the scapegoat, as differently derived from *φάρμακον*, the drug. Nevertheless, on page 34 of the *Greek Epic* he speaks of the *Pharmakos* as Human Medicine, which to my mind is a very late interpretation of the word. It certainly is a difficult problem to connect *Pharmakos* with a word for a drug or a man who used a drug, a pharmacist or physician. But following the clue which suggested a foreign origin, I sought for some other word in the same area which might suggest where it came from. I now believe that the original word and the two original roots which make it up came from the Turkic family of speech. For there is to be found in the Turkic tongues what looks like the very word in various forms. In Turkish itself it is spelt *vourmak*, which means "to beat." In this word *vour* is the root, which means "beat," and *mak* or, rather, *mag*, is the original root, both in the Turkic and Aryan families, which means "make." That *mak* is common to these two groups seems tolerably certain, though how



it came to be in both nobody knows. We certainly cannot connect the Turkic with the Aryan group, and yet the root *mak* is very widely spread. Thus *vourmak* means literally "to make blows" or "to whip." It is odd that it is seldom employed in any Turkic tongue to mean beating with a stick or whip. In that case the root *dyon* is more commonly used. When we remember that in the Greek Ritual the *Pharmakos* was beaten with agnus castus, with squills and other flowers, that must have some significance. We may note that *vourmak*, "to beat," may just as often have the termination *mek* when the Turkish laws of euphony demand it. One of the Turkish substantival gerunds of *vourmak* is *vourour* or *vûrûr*, which seems to be, curiously enough, the exact philological equivalent of the Latin *verber*, a thong or whip, which is apparently an oddly reduplicated form. From this it seems the real meaning of *Pharmakos* is just a beaten or whipped person, and at last, by a later process of semantics, one who has been driven out with blows. Whether one is justified in bringing in Latin in this case is a matter of question, but it is certainly interesting to note that the reduplicated root in *verber* and *verberare* and in *verbero* (one who deserves a flogging) has in some ways a look as if it did not belong to the Latin tongue, but was an importation as in the Greek. It is certainly suggestive of the root *vour* or *phar*. I note in the old *Etymologicon* of Voss he says as regards *verbera*, "sed cum Salmasio dicamus *verber* esse ab aeolico βερπύρ pro δερπύρ." Of course, no stress can be laid on this or on Voss. An interesting analogy is also to be found in the Greek *μαστιγίας*, a scoundrel.

According to this view, *φαρμακέω*, "I give drugs or poisons," is, of course, from the same roots. Probably in the earliest times it implied an early medicine man, a Shaman, something equivalent to those found with all their ritual among the Africans and Central Asians. Thus *φαρμακεύειν* means, as it would with early races, "to drive out evil spirits with a whip, or with blows." Such a connotation is, on my theory, earlier than "to give poisons," but one knows that the ritual of the savage cure largely consists in driving out the spirit of disease or witchcraft by noisy incantations or by actual physical ill-usage of the patient. If I am right, it is curious to consider that our word "pharmacist" has for its



early meaning exactly that of the ancient medicine man or exorcist.

There is another interesting point connected with *Pharmakos* which I have not seen mentioned. All over the East the word *farmaçion* is used with the meaning of an outlaw, and quite commonly with that of a cunning blood-drinking enemy of religion, a man who is a satanist or devil-worshipper. Of course, by a sort of meiosis it seems sometimes to mean a mere scoundrel, just in the same way as the almost equally interesting word *epikouros* is used in Northern Africa, where this verbal descendant of the name of the great philosopher has come to mean an enemy of religion, a Christian, and an Atheist or a scoundrel. This is somewhat on a par with the use of the word "Atheist" for the Christians at the time of Julian the Apostate. There does not seem to me any doubt whatever that *farmaçion* is actually the same word as *Pharmakos*. It is used in Turkey and Asia Minor and as far east as Afghanistan. It may be that the ancestors of the Greeks borrowed it originally from some Turkic race and returned it again to the Mahommedans with a fuller connotation.

Oddly enough, the word *farmaçion* has, since its readoption by Eastern races, taken on a new meaning. It now often means "a freemason," one who is looked upon by the orthodox as an outcast and a scoundrel, a sufi and one highly irreligious. Not being a freemason myself, I know nothing of its ritual, but, so far as I can learn, members of this society, or those who are really instructed in its ritual and doctrines, regard their common name as one very uncertain in its etymology. Its present or common meaning is undoubtedly false philology. Our word freemason is, of course, a translation from the French franc-maçon, but to my mind "franc" is nothing but a metathesized form of the *vour* of *vourmak* and the *phar* of *Pharmakos* with an added euphonic nasal. Thus, it is only by a later verbal accident that the "maçon" was turned into "mason," and connected with masonry and building. Probably, then, it is actually the same root as the *mak* of *vourmak* or *farmaçion*. I do not see much chance of connecting the original word mason, or Latin *maceria*, with the root *mak*, although there may possibly be some connection. The early societies and secret orders of the East (the East, as



might be expected, being full of secret orders) have linked themselves on to masonry as the last surviving order which used their secret marks. Probably, to begin with, these marks had no relation to building. It seems then that etymologically the free-masons are no more than a band of "pharmakoi."

To go back to the actual *Pharmakos*, one may note that Professor Murray is strongly of opinion that he was never killed, but only beaten. This is certainly borne out by my suggested etymology, although, of course, the very word *Pharmakos* may only have come into use when the ritual had been modified and humanized. It is interesting to note that there are two small islands off the coast of Attica, not far from Salamis and in the Bay of Eleusis, which were known in classical times as *Pharmacussae*. On one of them used to be shown the Temple of Circe. There is another island on the coast of Asia Minor called *Pharmacusa*, where, according to Plutarch, Caesar was taken prisoner by pirates when he was a young man. I cannot help thinking that in both cases these islands might practically be translated into English as Outcast Island or Islands. That is to say, they were originally refuges for wandering scoundrels, pirates and the like, those who harried the settled mainland, and were looked upon as the Britons looked upon the Danes, and as the mainlanders looked upon some of the islanders at the time of the Migrations of which Professor Murray gives such an imaginative picture. There also is another island in the Bay of Iassus which is, I believe, still called *Farmako*. It is possible, of course, that such a name sprang from the fact that these islands were inhabited by survivors of the primitive tribes who were always apt to be looked upon as magicians.

Naturally enough, during the course of time there have been many attempts to discover the root meaning of *Pharmakos*, and I cannot help thinking that some of the later attempts are little better than those of the scholiast and grammarians. For instance, Eustathius derives *pharmakon* from *φέπειν ἄχθος* when used in a bad sense, and from *φέπειν ἄκος* when used in a good one. One does not always, even nowadays, get much help from those who ought to know. When my theory was submitted to one well-known Orientalist he said that the older or classical form of



*vourmak* was *ourmak*. He was, of course, wrong. He was an authority on the Semitic language, but evidently knew little of Turkish. It is impossible to speak of it as an old form when all existing Turkish documents, being in the Arabian character, must necessarily be subsequent to the eighth century, when the Turks of the Khanates were endowed simultaneously with Islam and the Persi-Arabic alphabet. Nor do I understand how he could have thought *ourmak* could have been degraded into the popular form *vourmak*. According to all philologic knowledge, any degradation would have been in the opposite direction. It may be noted that as there is no Arabic character to represent the *v* sound the Turks use the *wau* for this purpose. There are, in fact, hundreds of words in Turkish beginning with a *v* sound and thousands in which the *v* is incorporated. They are all represented by the Arabic *wau*.

In this paper I have not troubled to speak about the actual meaning of the *Pharmakos* ceremony. Professor Murray seems wedded to the belief that it was in every case a *mimema*. On the other hand, Sir James Frazer is equally certain that even in civilized Greece the Thargelian rites took darker forms than the mere expulsion of this quasi-religious outcast when he was beaten with agnus castus or squills and expelled from the city. Certainly, the derivation which I offer seems on the surface to support Professor Murray's contention. But the general body of anthropological lore on this subject points steadily to darker customs which may have been resurrected in classical Greece during the times of abnormal wrath on the part of the gods or in times of scarcity, if the *Pharmakos* represented, as he often must have done, the spirit of winter.

It would, of course, be interesting to get some early references to the use of *farmaçion*, but it is very difficult to trace any Oriental expression before mediaeval times. One has to remember that using the pen was, in its way, a solemn rite. Up to the tenth century every sheet of writing was headed among the Mahomedans, "In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate and Most Merciful"; and is still in all literary work. An Orientalist friend of mine to whom I have referred asks, "How, with such a headline, would a pious scribe dare to refer to a blood-drinking



satanic *farmacion*? Such a combination might have made some dreadful formula capable of shooting the writer into the infinities of the  $n^{\text{th}}$  dimension of space." Such an attitude of mind is especially characteristic of the Oriental. Although magic was utterly condemned by Mahomet, it was believed in none the less because he condemned it as a practice, and it is still believed in. My friend tells me that the word has been used for a long time in the traditional comments on a portion of the ritual of a secret society into which he was initiated in an obscure town on the Tigris. The actual early papyrus was totally indecipherable and belonged to no known language. Indeed, those who held these documents, which had probably been transcribed many times by men who did not understand the script, were of the romantic opinion that the original was to be referred to the era of Khamurabi, although the comments were probably not older than the eighth century. Of course, such a statement as this is not evidence without further support. And yet, if the derivation of *Pharmakos* is what I have suggested, the use of the word probably goes back beyond all historic times. Certainly *farmacion* must be a very ancient word, and the horror of the orthodox Islamite for it is natural enough. We may compare the Catholic Church and its views of Freemasonry. There were political reasons for this, but the Church has a deep-seated jealousy and dislike and even fear of secret societies.

While considering this subject I have come across some who actually declared that we might start the history of the word from Odyssey ix. 393. That is certainly of to-day compared with its real history, for even Hipponax of the sixth century B.C. had to explain it. And when this passage in the Odyssey uses *φαρμάσσειν* in the sense of to "temper," how is it possible for us to look on mere tempering as a primitive meaning when we know what we do of the whole body of Wayland Smith legends? A smith was always a magician in the old times. Of course, the scholiast interprets the word in this passage as "hardening." As a matter of fact, it was probably "curing." What a magic sorcerer or smith did was to cure the iron of its native softness and bewitch it, almost certainly with incantations and ritual, as he plunged it into the tempering medium. We might even say that he drove out the devil of softness.



Wherever there is an element of magic in a word one expects that to be primary. The expression *φαρμάσσειν χαλκόν*, "to temper or strengthen brass," cannot be primary. One needs some imagination to deal with words like this. One of the weaknesses of the common dictionary is its habit of putting the usually accepted meaning first and the original meaning afterwards. So, when one looks at Liddell and Scott one sees *φαρμάσσειν* means, to begin with, "to medicate," and secondly, "to enchant or bewitch by the use of potions." The word certainly goes back to the ages of magic ritual, and back again to the very expulsion of Jonahs, people who had no luck and brought ill luck, probably before magic itself was practised. It is a natural animal instinct to turn out those who seem to bring ill fortune, even if there is no piacular element in such an expulsion. Even animals expel some of their kind. We may compare rooks and elephants and even cattle, who kill a wounded member of the herd who by his loud lowing might possibly bring them into danger.

Of course, it is exceedingly hard to say, when we consider what a linguistic whirlpool Asia Minor has always been, what was the actual origin of this particular word. It might not originally be Turkic. There is a strange tendency among certain people to attribute everything unknown to the Hittites, but, as no one seems to know what Hittite is, that is very little use to the investigator. *Vourmak* may not, of course, be Turkic at all, although it is a living word in the living Turkish language at the present time.

MORLEY ROBERTS.

#### BURIAL FACE DOWNWARDS TO PREVENT THE RETURN OF THE GHOST.

A correspondent of *The Times*, 29th July, 1915, writes from British Headquarters at the Front:

"A few days since, when searching for facts concerning a recent attack on a German trench, we came upon the grave of a German soldier, only just then filled up. The man had died instantly of a bayonet thrust. 'A curious thing about that,' commented an officer. 'The German was a huge, scowling man, and



he was tackled by a youngster of ours, a slim little fellow, really no match for him. But the German it was who died, and I remember his face afterwards. He might have been asleep dreaming of some wickedness. Later, I found our men burying him most carefully—face downwards. You know why. If he began digging his way out he would only go deeper.' But this respect for the dead is general. I know of a sniper of ours who, lying out one night in the open, got an unsuspecting German, and was then so troubled by the presence of an enemy, no longer dangerous, that he took the risk of going for a spade and returning to bury his foe."

[About 1887 a reputed witch is said to have been buried near Portmahomack, Ross-shire. A grave was dug, and the coffin was placed in it head downwards. 8th Series, *Notes and Queries*, iv. (1893), p. 8.]

## FOLK LORE AND LEGENDS FROM THE COASTS OF COUNTIES MAYO AND GALWAY.

(Continued from p. 106).

### 3. *The Legend of Downpatrick Head.*

Some miles from Ballycastle, a long peninsula, rising towards the sea, ends in a gigantic isolated rock tower, 150 feet above the waves, called *Dunbriste*, the broken fort. On the mainland opposite lies a little oratory of St. Patrick, with a curious pillar and little stations.<sup>1</sup> The headland beside Dunbriste is fortified by a strong wall of fine slab masonry, with a narrow gate. On Dunbriste rock, a low wall of ruder and smaller stonework is still seen, and in 1839 it had one pier of a gateway with inclined jambs. The place is not named in the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, or *Tirechan's Notes*, though minute particulars of St. Patrick's mission to Erris in the time of Fiacra's son Amalgaidh<sup>2</sup> are given. I have no earlier mention of the name than one in the

<sup>1</sup> See *infra* for the *patterns* and "anvil stone" there.

<sup>2</sup> *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick* (ed. W. Stokes, Rolls Series), pp. 133-7.



reign of Elizabeth, when Hugh Boy MacConnell, who had held Downpatrick in Tirawley, was attainted for rebellion, and his lands forfeited in 1589 and granted to the English in 1594.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. James MacParlan in 1802 published his *Statistical Survey of Mayo*, but though he describes the remains he gives no legend. It is questionable if he did not entirely depend on the information of the local gentry for his notes of the wilder districts of County Mayo. The collections of Rev. Caesar Otway, T. O'Connor, and John O'Donovan are more satisfactory, dating between 1836-8, though Otway had an earlier source, a book of legends collected by a coastguard officer, Lieut. Henri, stationed at Dookeeghan, on Broadhaven, for some nineteen years. If this volume could be retrieved it would be invaluable, for Henri was a man of intelligence, and had not acquired the fatal cleverness of Miss Knight and her brother for touching up details with colours from Scott's novels and a previous work on the district.<sup>2</sup>

Otway's version<sup>3</sup> is as follows: he embodies it in a conversation with his friend George Crampton. Dunbrista was once a stronghold of a "Paganee king," who plundered and ruined the people of the district. Their cry came to the ears of St. Patrick at Ballisadare, in County Sligo, and, taking boat, he came to Tirawly. Landing on the "cursing stone" at Kilcummin, where the French landed in 1798, he came to Downpatrick, and, standing where an altar still remains, he prayed to God to succour those suffering wrong and to abate the cruel tyranny. The king came out of his stronghold, a fortified headland, and hurled his spear at the saint, but it missed and fixed itself in a little mound, one of the stations. The king burst out of his fortress, leading his men to devastate the country, but he had not gone far when,

<sup>1</sup> See "Promontory Forts and Early Remains," County Mayo, *Journal Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland*, vol. xlii., p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> *Wild Sports of the West*, pp. 64-66, is evidently the source for the "skull oath" in Knight's legend of Donnell Doolwee and Munchin.

<sup>3</sup> *Erris and Tyrawly*, pp. 231, 238. Otway seems to tell it here naturally. Sometimes, inspired by "chaffing" some peasant informant or by the two accomplished Knights, he "overworks" his story, but this process is always very apparent where it occurs. Hence my variant estimates of his reliability. Crampton and Henri seem to tell the tales as they heard them.



with a far resounding crash, the cliff fell in, and the fort, where all his treasure was stored, was only accessible to flying creatures. The terrified pagan returned, fell at Patrick's feet, abjured the false gods, and eventually became a bishop and a saint.

The great chasm is called the Giant's Leap. Lieut. A. Henri goes on to add: "For my story book has it" that the tyrant was not converted, but tried to leap back to his fort, and fell short and perished in the waters.

O'Connor's versions<sup>1</sup> (edited by O'Donovan, who also visited the site) are slight variants. The giant is named Geodruisge, and Dun Briste originally bore his name, *Dún Geodruisge*, or, as O'Donovan prefers, *Dun Deodruisc*. There was a great tyrant, named Geodruisg or Deodruisg, residing on Dun Briste, which was then attached to the mainland. He used to annoy St. Patrick whenever he saw him at his prayers. "Wearied out of patience," the saint "prayed earnestly to God to put some barrier of separation between this tyrant and himself." "On the following morning the *Doon*, with the tyrant's residence, was found separated from the mainland, and in the very place it lies at this day," whence it is named *Dún briste*. Geodruisge was unable to escape, and perished in his fort. The tyrant was a pirate, and the legends vary, for some say he was on a plundering excursion inland, and took two cows belonging to a widow, who followed him to his *Dún*, entreating him to return them to her, but he would not. She at last knelt down "on her bare knees; she cursed him from her heart out." So the *Dún* was removed out from the land, and the robber perished in it. The other version was that the pirate was absent on a sea raid, and on his return he found his fort inaccessible, so he sailed away and never returned. O'Donovan gives in these letters an account, taken from Dean Lyons, where Deodruisg is entreated by the saint to restore the latter's cattle. St. Patrick tries to convert the robber, who hurls a boulder at him, whereon St. Patrick prays that a barrier be placed between Deodruisc and the other inhabitants, and the cliff breaks away, with the robber's "castle" on it. This, it will be seen, is the legend I got from a good source on the spot. The people

<sup>1</sup> *Ordnance Survey Letters, Co. Mayo*, vol. i. (MSS. R.I. Acad.), pp. 291-2, 314-5.



believe that there is a vast treasure in the *Dún*, but no one is able to get to the summit and recover the riches.

Otway, however, gives a legend how a Danish ship came to the rock about 1740, and flying a kite over it the captain got a rope across the summit, and guided by a parchment removed the hoard of the old sea king.<sup>1</sup>

On my visit in 1911 an old farmer in the neighbourhood gave me a fragmentary version, which was also familiar to some of the boys present. He said that the headland fort was later than that on Doon bristha (wherein he is evidently right), and that its owner kept great herds of cattle, but in constant risk of a sea raid from County Donegal, whose mountains show faintly blue on the northern horizon. The chief accordingly kept watch from the lofty headland, and if he saw any fleet approaching his fort, or that of a friendly chief on the great rock platform of Dunminalla fort (visible some seventeen miles to the west), he used to blow a horn, and his cattle, being carefully trained, would gallop from all directions, and, forming in line,<sup>2</sup> pass through the narrow gateway into the safety of the fort. As to Dun Bristha, "Johdhrick" and his family used to come out, when the place joined the land, to spit at St. Patrick when he was celebrating the Mass. "The saint punished and perhaps killed him by splitting the rock." I was then told a story practically identical with the throwing of the spear, but in this version it was a great rock that was hurled by the impious giant.

Since I published my description of this most interesting and beautiful site I am only aware of one contribution to the lore of Dunbriste.<sup>3</sup> Citing the accounts of O'Donovan and O'Connor, as well as that of Otway, Mr. T. O'Rahilly<sup>4</sup> gives a version by Mr. Michael Rogers (Micheal Mhag Ruaidhri), where for the first time

<sup>1</sup> *loc. cit.* p. 239. Told by G. Crampton.

<sup>2</sup> I have seen them do this and pass without hustling through the very narrow doors of the ancient gate-house of Dunworley promontory fort in Co. Cork. So the touch is a true one. Perhaps the eastern fort was used as cattle pen down to very late times.

<sup>3</sup> *Gadelica*, vol. i., No. 3, p. 171, by Mr. T. F. O'Rahilly.

<sup>4</sup> *Lúb na Caillighe agus Sgealta Ecle*, 1910, pp. 33-40.



a new protagonist appears, St. Patrick's old foe, Crom Dubh.<sup>1</sup> The latter, an extortionate chief, lived at Downpatrick Head, and had two sons, Teidach and Clonnach, worse than himself. The pagans worshipped Crom Dubh despite his cruelty. St. Patrick when visiting the neighbourhood heard of his evil deeds, and went to visit him. Crom Dubh set two fierce hounds on him, but the saint quieted them. The pagan then tried to throw him into a fire, which the holy man put out. Patrick, tried beyond his patience, struck the rock, and it was cleft away. Crom Dubh and Teidach were isolated and perished; Clonnach, who was away on a plundering expedition, was burned in a fire he had kindled, and on that account the people of Kilcummin and Downpatrick hold a pattern at the latter place on "Garland Sunday," or Crom Dubh's Sunday—the last in July each year.

Keeping the other Patrick-legends for the section on the legends of the Saints, I will here only touch on a few other quasi pre-Christian legends on the coast, reserving those of Finn.

The old castle of Doona (Fahy) is absurdly attributed to a magician of the Tuatha De Dannann to guard his faithless wife. Of course, "woman's wile was more than a match for strong walls or magic devices." Others attributed this late mediaeval peel tower to Meidhah (Medbh), Queen of Connacht. It was granted by her to the hero Ceat, son of Magach. The latter eventually gave his castle to Phelim, an *ollamh* and adviser of the great Queen during her long reign of ninety years over Connacht. I presume Otway<sup>2</sup> does not intend us to understand that his flippant version of the grim story of Meisgeadhra's brain trophy<sup>3</sup> was told among the people of Doona.

I am not sure whether the attribution of Dundonnell to the Tuatha De emanates from Otway alone, or whether he regarded

<sup>1</sup> For him see *infra* under the legends of the Saints.

<sup>2</sup> *Erris and Tyrawly*, pp. 16, 38.

<sup>3</sup> In connection with the skull and brain trophies and the very remarkable foundation sacrifices in the rampart of a French oppidum, let me refer to the *Bulletin of the Société Préhistorique Française*, vol. x., p. 700; *Journal Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland*, xlv., p. 82; and *Revue Celtique*, xxxiv. "Les têtes coupées et les trophées en Gaule," by Adolphe Reinach, giving all this strange barbarism in the chivalrous records of the Ultonian epic.



the magicians and giants of the folk tales as being all of the race of the Gaelic deities. If he is alone responsible he must bear the blame of error, for Domnall Duil buidhe was not of the Dannann, but a mortal warrior of the Gamanraidhe, a Domnonian race in Erris. I presume, therefore, that Otway formed the false equation—Fir Domnonn equals Tuatha De Dannann, *i.e.* equals the Danish Vikings!

T. J. WESTROPP.





## REVIEW.

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LE ROMAN DE RENARD. Par LUCIEN FOULET. *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*. Fasc. 211. Pp. 574. Paris (Champion), 1914.

THIS important work, dedicated to M. Joseph Bédier and authorised by MM. Alfred Jeanroy and Antoine Thomas, continues worthily the great French tradition of medieval studies, and that none the less because it contravenes the arguments of Gaston Paris and M. Leopold Sudre as to the history of Reynard the Fox. The book may be described shortly as reaction against folklore. Jacob Grimm in his *Reinhart Fuchs* maintained the theory of an original Beast Epic, unwritten, repeated, known everywhere till civilisation grew up and choked it, then saved from choking by the poets, whose work is more or less truly represented in the extant versions. Against this was raised the other theory, first by Paulin Paris and after him by Müllenhoff, that the medieval poems of the Fox and the Wolf came from literature, from Greek and Indian fables, not directly from the great heart of the people. This was followed by the suggestion of Gaston Paris, taken up and worked out by his pupil M. Sudre—they were not the first or only explorers in this direction, but their essays are the best known—to make out that the poems of Renard and Ysengrim are indebted for a great number of their adventures to popular tales. The position is clearly stated by Gaston Paris in his review of M. Sudre at the beginning of § iii.<sup>1</sup> Gaston Paris had been struck, in reading collections of folk-tales, especially Slavonic and Scandinavian, with resemblances to *Renard*, and in a lecture in

<sup>1</sup> *Mélanges de littérature française au moyen âge* (1912), p. 379. Originally published in *Journal des Savants*, 1894-95.



December 1881, on the work of Paulin Paris, found occasion to point out the need for folklore in these studies. About the same time a Russian and a Finnish scholar were working at Russian and Finnish beast stories (Kolmatshevsky, 1882; Krohn, 1888, 1891). In 1892 M. Sudre published his *Sources du Roman de Renart*, a book which is compared by Gaston Paris to Jeanroy on *Lyric Poetry*, Bédier on the *Fabliaux*, and Langlois on the *Roman de la Rose*. It is to that family that M. Foulet's work belongs—twenty years after—and many readers in England who have drawn instruction and delight from the older French books on the Middle Ages will be glad to find the study still flourishing, the traditions of philological industry and literary grace so well preserved as here they are. M. Foulet stands to Gaston Paris and the folklorists very much as Paulin Paris stood with regard to Jacob Grimm's *Reinhart*. Grimm believed in an original ideal Beast Epic; Paulin Paris met this diffusive essence with the sharp particulars of Aesop's fables, and the cloud vanished. But the particular positive written fables were not enough to account for all the matter of Reynard the Fox. The traditional beast stories came and asked for consideration; the result was that something not unlike the cloudy ideal epic came to shape itself again; only for Gaston Paris and others who agree with him it is not an *epic* of the Fox—it is not an epic at all, it is only a number of current stories. It is not always easy to explain how the folklore theory differs from Grimm. M. Sudre sometimes speaks of *l'estoire (de Renard)* not, indeed, exactly as a traditional oral epic, but as a traditional group of stories to which new adventures might be added. It looks as if the difference between the older theory (Grimm) and the later (Sudre) were simply that Grimm thought of his folklore as organic—a coherent epic plot—whereas the later folklorists are content with incoherence. M. Foulet is inclined to sweep away all folklore together; we may be allowed in this Society to think that he is a little too peremptory. He is too impatient, and too openly shows that he does not want to believe in folklore. *Uncle Remus*, it may be, is derived from *Reynard the Fox*; and the Dutch settlers in Africa may, as M. Foulet suggests (p. 558), have introduced Reynard to the Hottentots. But, even supposing all this, we do not imagine



that beast stories are all exploded. Even if Brer Rabbit is reduced to mere literary elements, Bra 'Nanzi will remain, in the stories printed by Sir George Dasent and in the other set recorded by Mr. W. A. B. Musgrave for the *Folk-Lore Record* (iii. pt. 1. 53-55), and in Mr. Walter Jekyll's *Jamaican Song and Story* (F.L.S., 1904). That is the sort of thing which a student of *Renard* is naturally led to consider, and he will consider it all the more closely the more he is inclined to diminish the share of folk-tales in the composition of the romance.

M. Foulet does not quite escape from the fallacy which seems to flourish best in medieval gardens; the argument from non-extant to never-existent. He is much too clear and logical to indulge in the grosser forms of this error, but in pointing out the want of evidence for oral comic stories of beasts, he ought to have remembered that many rich antiquarian things are proved by single small pieces of evidence which have escaped the tooth of time through the merest hazard. Very near to *Renard* are the *fabliaux*. By accident there remain two or three pieces of Latin verse preserving *fabliau* plots from a time several generations earlier than the French *fabliaux*. A smaller fire than that of Alexandria or of Louvain might easily have destroyed the pleasant Latin version of the Swabian snow-child, or the Ambrosian quatrains *De Unibove*, the ancestor of *Big Claus and Little Claus*. But if this had happened, would scholars have been justified in saying that the story of Little Claus cannot have been known much earlier than the sixteenth century, when it appears in Straparola and in *The Freiris of Berwik*? M. Foulet refuses to attend to folklore, to the Ananzi stories; and in his dismissal of Uncle Remus he does not seem to see that he is making things easy for himself, and not exactly keeping the rules of the game.

*Unibos*, Andersen's *Claus*, Campbell's *Three Widows*, which are all the same story, and which have their likeness also among the Ananzi stories, may possibly help with part of the *Roman de Renart*. It happens often enough that a folk-tale is defaced when it is turned into literary form. In *Renart* a well-known adventure is the Fox beguiling the Cadger, and stealing his herrings by pretending to be dead, and getting taken up in the Cadger's cart. This is in *branche* iii. The fish story is repeated



in another form in xiv. ; and xiv. is later than iii. Now xiv. has an additional incident. After the Fox's success, the Wolf tries to imitate him ; he too will pretend to be dead, and lays himself out stiff on the road, since that is the way the Fox has won his herrings. He is, of course, detected and beaten by the carters. M. Sudre (p. 176) refers to similar folk-tales ; he thinks they are adaptations of the original simple story which had only the exploit of the Fox. But is it not possible that *Renart* xiv. and these other stories may have got the true original plot ? After all, there is no very great subtlety in the Fox's herring-game ; it seems a better joke when Wolf the Pantaloon tries to imitate the victorious knave and is baffled. And this is the plot of *Big Claus and Little Claus*, and of *Unibos* the joke is that the dull avaricious person is led to imitate superficially the device of the clever one. Students of folklore will see the possibility that *Renart* xiv., though later in date, may have copied a better folk-tale than iii.

The great value of M. Foulet's book lies outside the province of folklore, and consists in his proof of the literary relation between the French rhyming *Renart* and the Latin *Ysengrimus*.

*Ysengrimus* was discovered by Jacob Grimm, and by him named *Reinardus Vulpes*. It is a long poem in Latin elegiacs. The shorter Latin poem which Grimm printed in his *Reinhart Fuchs* is now known to be an abridgment, and *Ysengrimus* now denotes the longer poem—edited first by Mone, 1832, then by Voigt, 1884. *Ysengrimus* was composed by Nivard, a Fleming, about 1150 ; it is thus earlier than the extant French *Renart*, earlier than the High Dutch and Low Dutch rhyming histories *van den vos Reinaerde*. M. Foulet makes it probable that *Ysengrimus* is the model of *Renart*. His reasoning is strong. Both books are made up of separate adventures ; the sequence is casual in both and in both it is the same (p. 124). Obviously they cannot be independent. The older theory, represented by M. Sudre, was that *Ysengrimus* drew from the *estoire* the traditional legend of Reynard the Fox, which may have been rhymed in older French poems now lost. The weakness of M. Sudre's study of *Renart* is that he never declares fully what he makes of *Ysengrimus* ; M. Foulet's closer examination was needed in order to clear up this doubtful matter by showing what the problems are.



It is possible to believe in folklore, and in Uncle Remus and Ananzi, and much that M. Foulet despises, without trying to make folklore account for everything. The recent edition of Henryson's poems for the Scottish Text Society by Mr. Gregory Smith has called the attention of some readers to Henryson's Fables and the stories of the Fox there. It is remarkable how limited and how literary are Henryson's sources. He knows Caxton's *Reynard*, and something besides. But the story of the Fox and the Wolf in the well, which is not in Caxton, he does not take from folklore, nor from the French *Renart*, nor from the old English *Vox and Wolf*. He takes it from Petrus Alphonsus his *Disciplina Clericalis*, point after point. Henryson really knew very little of the *estoire*. But if we had not the story in Petrus Alphonsus, it would be easy and natural to take Henryson for a poet spinning rhymes of Reynard out of a large mass of tradition, or out of the roomy old French book instead of Caxton's thin abridgment. But while this case may be a warning to rash folklorists not to despise mere literary borrowings and translations, there is still something left over in Henryson which seems to connect his Fables with popular tradition, and that is the name Lowrance given to the Fox. Those popular names of animals, differing from the names in the *Roman de Renart*, e.g. "Mikkel" for the Fox in Norway and other countries, "Lowrance," "Tod Lowrie" in Scotland, are signs of an old habit of thought, and belong to that kind of imagination which provides the beast stories of different countries, and also the comic proverbial wisdom of the animals in which Mr. Weller excelled. Students of Reynard should not neglect this addition to the beast epic. "Here's ovr mony maisters, as the taid said to the harrow"—this saying may be found in Machiavelli; and the Fox appears in the Norwegian *Book of Kings*, in the Saga of Magnus Bareleg, among the proverbs of Sveinki, "Here's no need of rollers, as the fox said when he drew the harp over the ice." What the Fox said may not be evidence; still it is worth recording along with the rest of this vanity.

W. P. KER.

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## SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

*The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races, in Special Reference to the Origin of Greek Tragedy: with an Appendix on the origin of Greek Comedy.* By WILLIAM RIDGEWAY, Sc.D., F.B.A. Cambridge: University Press. 1915.

IN this book Professor Ridgeway restates, with further material, the theory advanced by him in his *Origin of Tragedy*, published in 1910, that the Drama is based on the cult of the dead. It includes much controversial matter which it is impossible at present to discuss. An important feature of the work is the new information on the religious dramas of India and the further East, which is illustrated by a fine series of photographs.

*The History of Kathiawad from the Earliest Times.* By Captain H. WILBERFORCE-BELL. London: William Heinemann. 1916.

THIS is a valuable account of the history of an Indian district, interesting because it is the meeting-ground of various immigrations of foreigners from the north, from whom many of the Rajput tribes have originated. The book contains little information on the people, their beliefs and customs, but it is clearly written, and is provided with a good series of photographs of scenery and buildings.

*European and Other Race Origins.* By HERBERT BRUCE WANNAY. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co. 1916.

THE theory advocated in this strange work is that many of the races of Europe and Asia originated in the dispersal of the Hebrew tribes. Much pains have been devoted to the collection of material, but it has been drawn from second-hand sources, and the conclusions arrived at will not commend themselves to anthropologists.

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JUNE 21st, 1916.

THE PRESIDENT (DR. R. R. MARETT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter from Mr. S. A. H. Burne was read, in which he regretted his inability to be present at the meeting, but said that Miss C. S. Burne had kindly undertaken to read his paper.

Dr. H. B. Wheatley read a paper entitled "The Folk-Lore of Shakespeare," and in a short discussion which followed the Chairman, Miss Hull and Dr. Gaster took part.

Miss Burne read a note communicated by Mr. Crooke on Hone's Recollections of Brand which he had discovered in an article written by Mr. Russell, published in *Notes and Queries*.

Miss Burne read a paper by Mr. S. A. H. Burne entitled "Examples of Folk Memory from Staffordshire." The paper was followed by a discussion on the credibility of traditional legends, which was opened by Mr. E. S. Hart-



land, and in which Mr. Major, Mrs. Scoresby Routledge, Miss Moutray Read, Dr. Gaster, the Chairman, and Miss Burne took part.

The meeting terminated with hearty votes of thanks to Dr. Wheatley and Mr. S. A. H. Burne for their papers.





## EXAMPLES OF FOLK MEMORY FROM STAFFORDSHIRE.

BY SAMBROOKE A. H. BURNE, M.A., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

*(Read at Meeting, 21st June, 1916.)*

ONE supposes that there is by now a fairly general assent among folklorists as regards the existence of a more than ordinary power of memory among certain (using the term relatively) unlettered classes of society. This can be tested over and over again by anyone who is in touch with the farm-labourer class. What is still a matter of controversy may be termed the credibility of the traditional matter which the memory of the folk provides. Is it to be classed as "the drivelling of antiquated crones" (this classification is somewhere about half-a-century old) or as historical material worthy the attention of the serious student?

The following examples collected quite casually in Staffordshire may be considered relevant to what is undoubtedly matter of controversy. I could have added other cases, but they have already appeared in print:

I. The first example comes from Needwood Forest and relates to the curious parochial geography of the old forest area. Prior to the enclosure in 1801 something like twenty townships intercommoned in the forest. As a result of the enclosure this common land was divided among five parishes, not in compact areas but in patchwork fashion, here a piece and there a piece. It well illustrates the anomalous condition of things that the Derbyshire parish of Scropton obtained several small patches of old



forest land, lying mainly between Draycott Cliff and Yoxall, both in Staffordshire.

Mr. John Wright, who for ten years prior to 1877, was resident in Scropton village and an overseer of the parish, gave me the reason for this irregularity as he had learnt it from "a very old Scropton farmer, William Shipton, whose family had been freeholders there for generations." Another member of the family lived at Yoxall in Staffs, and actually on one of the above-mentioned patches of land which belonged to Scropton parish.<sup>1</sup>

The tradition ran as follows: When Oliver Cromwell destroyed Tutbury Castle the Scropton people rang their church bells. This so pleased Cromwell that he gave to every freeholder a piece of land in Needwood Forest.

Now, it was certainly not book-learning which prompted Mr. Shipton. Any book to which this Derbyshire yeoman and his circle were at all likely to have had access would have informed him of the Enclosure Act of 1801 and its effect on parochial divisions. Was his story then an ingenious piece of guesswork by way of explanation of these distant and isolated patches? It might be thought so, but it is possible to show that this tradition is deeply rooted in past local history.

In the first place, there is the fact that Tutbury was destroyed by the Parliamentary army in the Civil War. Scropton Church is distant about a mile and a half, and although there is no proof that the bells were rung in celebration of the Royalist defeat, it is far from unlikely.<sup>2</sup> Further, we have the important historical fact that in 1654 Cromwell issued an ordinance which in effect provided that the forest of Needwood should be sold "for the satisfaction of the soldiery."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to notice that the Muster Roll of 1539 for Yoxall bears the name of "Hew Shypton, able man with byll."

<sup>2</sup> Churchwardens' accounts may be available to elucidate this point.

<sup>3</sup> The evidence for this is a contemporary petition quoted in Shaw's *Staffordshire*, 1798—a rare history, which is in few but collectors' libraries.



This proposal was by no means popular. There were many vested interests to be propitiated. Most formidable, because most democratic, was the opposition of Scropton and the nineteen other townships which enjoyed common of pasture in the forest. Accordingly in 1658 Cromwell amended his scheme by proposing to allocate a definite area of forest land to each township in substitution for its lost grazing rights. In the Salt Library at Stafford is a map which shows the proposed partition. Commissioners went so far as actually to measure up and stake out the allotments. Scropton had 158 acres assigned to it. Two years later came the Restoration, and the forest was saved—for a time. In 1780 another attempt was made, and a Bill for the enclosure was brought forward, which adopted ready made the partition prepared by Cromwell's surveyors. This Bill was, however, rejected. Finally came the Enclosure Act of 1801 by which the Scropton freeholders received the strips of land concerning which the tradition is told. I am unable to prove that the actual allotment corresponded in area and locality with that proposed in 1658, but this is for lack of sufficient research. It is more than likely that it did. Be this as it may, it is hardly stretching language beyond its proper bounds to say that village tradition, unshaken by and apparently oblivious of that monument of Parliamentary draughtsmanship known as 41 Geo. III. c. 66, has substantially preserved the memory of historical events of a far earlier period.

II. The next concrete product of folk memory that I produce is a lullaby or jingle which in 1892 was heard sung to a child at Harriseahead, a remote colliery village in North Staffordshire. The singer was an old woman, and there were several verses, but only one was noted :

“Ding a dong ding,  
Ding a dong ding,  
I heard a bird sing,  
The Parliament soldiers have gone for the King.”



The genesis of this rhyme can only be the events of the year 1660, when General Monk, having crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, marched to London, transmuted the long discredited "Rump" into a more representative body by recalling some of the old members of Charles I.'s reign, and in the name of this Parliament welcomed Charles II. back to London.

The rhyme seems to breathe not only thankfulness but secrecy, and thus it accurately expresses the political conditions obtaining at the time.

Cromwell's rule was a despotism of the Executive which soon came to be profoundly disliked by all classes of society. Quarter Session records show the extent to which the liberty of the subject was restrained. People were sent to gaol for "driving of horses upon the Lord's Day"; for swearing such mild oaths as "upon my life" and "God is my witness" they were fined six and eightpence. As for liberty of conscience it was a thing undreamed of, and Quakers were no better off than Papists. Colonel Hutchinson's *Memoirs* contain many glimpses of the discontent smouldering under a despotism worse than that of the Stuarts. Provincial Major-Generals were appointed, who pushed the local J.P. from his position of dignity and "behaved like bashaws" in their enforcement of an exaggerated moral code. They set all the people "muttering." Notice Hutchinson's choice of a word. Of open manifestations of joy at the prospect of the return of the Monarchy we are to understand that there were but few. One reason was that a very strict censorship prevailed to check the circulation of broadsheets, pamphlets, and newspapers. I lay stress upon these circumstances, because they show the historical interest of this jingle. It was only in obscure tracts and chimney-corner and alehouse ditties such as this that the smouldering discontent could find articulate expression. This rhyme is not confined to North Staffordshire. A member of the North Staffordshire Field Club



writes that she remembers it being sung to her in her childhood by a nurse, "probably a Cambridgeshire woman, and almost certainly from the Fens."

III. The moorlands of Staffordshire—high, bleak, thinly-populated hillsides—provide two traditional place-names of great interest.

Mr. John Clark, for five years resident at Waterhouses, a village on the turnpike road from Macclesfield to Ashbourne, pointed out to the writer some few months ago a road with what struck him as a peculiar name. It is the length of road running almost due south from the Crown Inn at Waterhouses until it is turned abruptly right and left by the sheer side of the Weaver Hills. This road—it is scarcely more than a lane—is known as "Earlsway." When Mr. Clark first came into the district the pronunciation was "Yarlsway," and on the six-inch O.S. it appears as "Yelsway Lane." The insertion of the consonant Y before vowels and in place of aspirates is a common feature of midland and north country dialects.<sup>4</sup>

The value and interest of this survival seem to be that it can be tested while so many can not. Taking it at its face value, the advocates of the historical faithfulness of folk memory will claim that this place-name will indicate the ownership or the user (at any rate the close personal association) of some historical person with the rank of Earl. Their opponents will, no doubt, urge that the name is a corruption proving nothing at all. In the majority of survivals of this class proof one way or the other is never obtainable. Here, however, a solitary documentary record which I came across entirely by chance decides this issue at least triumphantly in favour of the traditionalists.

It occurs in the Chartulary of Burton Abbey.<sup>5</sup> A deed

<sup>4</sup> Thus Yarnfield in 1266 was written Ernefeld and in 1379 Ernefen. Cf. Falstaff in *Henry IV.*, Part I. (Act I. Sc. 2), "Hear ye, *Yedward*, if I tarry at home and go not, I'll hang you for going."

<sup>5</sup> The original is at Beaudesert. I have used the only transcription, that published by the Salt Archaeological Society in *Staffs Collections*, v. pt. 1.



which may be dated *circa* 1200 relates to a grant to the Abbey of land situated at Cauldon (p. 52). The boundaries are given, several can be identified, and one of them is "Viam Comitis,"—the Earl's Way. It is evident, therefore, that this place-name had crystallised into permanent use as early as the twelfth century.

Who, then, was the Earl? The earliest mention of Cauldon occurs in the will of Wulfric Spot, the founder of Burton Abbey in A.D. 1004. He is styled "Consul ac Comes Merciorum" in the *Burton Chronicle*, but, though a very large landowner, it is doubtful whether he ever in strictness held the title of Earldorman of Mercia.<sup>6</sup> If he be excluded there is only one other Earldom which, having regard to the date, can be associated with the "Earlsway," and that is the Palatine Earldom of Chester, created at the Conquest. For two centuries these feudal potentates dominated Cheshire and a large part of Staffordshire and the Midlands. At different dates both Trentham and Dieulacres Abbey (near Leek) were founded by members of this all-powerful house. In Staffordshire they held at one time or another the manors of Alstonefield, Warslow, Chartley, Sandon, Leek, Endon, Rudyard, Rushton, and Alton—all but one in the north of the county. So far as available records go, however, it does not appear that they held Cauldon, which was held by the de Stafford barony in chief from the Crown for many years after the Conquest, and was so held at the presumable date of the grant above mentioned.

The credibility of this tradition being thus established, has it any historical value? It bears testimony to the almost royal state and authority of the Earls Palatine. "Via regia" is the technical description used in mediaeval documents for what were the equivalent of the turnpikes. But in North Staffordshire during the twelfth and thirteenth

<sup>6</sup> His name is probably preserved at Spot, Spotgate, and Spotacre, near Stone.



centuries the King was a name, but the great Earl of Chester a reality. Thus men spoke of the "Earl's" highway not the "King's" highway. That the Earls of Chester were constantly at Leek, five miles west of Cauldon, admits of no doubt. The scarce pamphlet history of Rushton Spencer, published in 1856 by the Rev. T. W. Norwood, mentions that a road between that village and Congleton in Cheshire was known as the "Earlsway," and at Congleton itself the same name occurs in a perambulation of 1593.<sup>7</sup>

These two names clearly mark the route between Beeston Castle in Cheshire and Leek and the moorland manors of the Earl. The road now under notice may be a continuation of that, but it looks much more like a route from north to south. Right down to the close of the Middle Ages, long-distance cross-country travelling was substantially confined to two classes—the peddling merchants and the itinerant landlords eating their way from manor to manor; and as a solution I would suggest that the Earl, when on tour from his northern manors (Alstonefield, Warslow) to Chartley and Sandon further south, regularly made the passage of the river Hamps at this point. Whether or not it is to-day the sole or the most suitable route is hardly a relevant inquiry; we cannot judge of the respective advantages of different routes in the light of modern physical geography and road systems, because river levels have altered and obstacles of forest and swamp no longer cramp the traveller.

IV. Another equally interesting illustration of the permanence of folk memory comes from Waterfall, a true moorland village, lying some 900 feet high on the fringe of the vast expanse of stonewall country which forms the backbone of England. It is a mile north of Waterhouses on the Ashbourne and Macclesfield high road, and lies in the centre of a large loop of the river Hamps. The direct road to Waterhouses runs precipitously down to a ford

<sup>7</sup> Head's *Hist. of Congleton*, 123.



(now disused) across the river, and is known as Rocester Lane. Needless to say, the natives have no explanation why Rocester is thus advertised to the exclusion of many nearer centres of population. There is no possible relationship between the two places, either administrative or economic; they lie some dozen miles apart, connected by an indirect and indifferent road. The strong probability is that if you asked the way to Rocester of a Waterfall man he would not be able to tell you: certainly he would not direct you down "Rocester Lane," which is practically a *cul de sac*, ending at the disused ford.

In the survival of this name there is the only link with the pre-Reformation status of Waterfall Church as an appendage of Rocester Abbey. Along this road the parishioners in successive harvest seasons laboriously transported their tithes in kind. Or, the imagination may not unreasonably picture a constant procession of black-cowled priests to and from the Abbey. For the Austin Canons set parochial ministration among their "appropriated" congregations in the forefront of their religious activities.

Waterfall has not now, and had not in those days, easy access to the outer world. Leek has now superseded Rocester as the ultimate horizon of travel. With the snapping of monastic ties the artificial geographical relationship of Waterfall and Rocester vanished. It is good, therefore, to note this place-name, for it represents three hundred years of English history; it is a vivid and accurate piece of historical evidence revealing as it does the powerful influence a distant monastic house could exercise on parochial life.

V. My last example is perhaps the most striking of all, but it comes rather at second hand. It is taken from Hinchcliffe's *History of Barthomley*, a somewhat rare book, written about 1850 by the rector of the parish, which is situated partly in Staffordshire but mainly in Cheshire. The period of the incident in question is of the Civil War. Cheshire was in the main Royalist, but there was



very considerable skirmishing up and down the county, of which one Burghall, the Puritan vicar of Acton, who owed his living to the Parliamentary victory, has left a detailed account in diary form. It forms circumstantial reading, though somewhat offensively unctuous in tone. The diary was first published at Chester in 1778 and has since been re-published by the Cheetham Society.

Burghall records under 1643 that "the enemy [*i.e.* the Royalists] on Saturday came to Barthomley, giving an alarm to the garrison of Crewe Hall: as they marched they set upon the church which had in it about twenty neighbours that had gone in for safety: but the Lord Byrom's troop & Connought, a major to Colonel Sneyd, set upon them and won the church, but the enemy burning the forms, rushes, mats, etc. made such a smoke that being almost stifled they called for quarter which was granted by Connought: but when they had them in their power they stripped them all naked and most cruelly murdered twelve of them contrary to the laws of arms, nature and nations. *Connought cut the throat of Mr. John Fowler, a hopeful young man and a minor.*"<sup>8</sup>

This reads like an episode of August, 1914, in Belgium, and one feels and hopes with Mr. Hinchcliffe that perhaps Burghall has been carried away by his extreme Puritan bias and is not a credible historian. Tradition here most opportunely throws light upon what really happened. There lived in the parish one Daniel Stringer, who was born in 1743, and was living in 1839, in which year (being then 97 years of age) he informed Mr. Hinchcliffe that his grandfather was one of the few who escaped from the massacre. So his father had told him. He declared that the trouble arose because the son of the rector fired from the steeple upon the troops marching past and killed one. This so irritated the soldiers that they revenged their comrade's death by butchering many within the church.

<sup>8</sup> My italics.



Now mark three points. Daniel Stringer had never heard of Burghall's diary. He did not know the name of the rector. In point of fact the rector of 1643 was *Richard Fowler*, whose sympathies were well-known to be with the Puritan party. It is pretty evident, therefore, that Mr. Fowler, "the hopeful young man" of the diary who lost his life, and the rector's son of the tradition were one and the same person.

And so the affair does not appear quite so wanton and cold-blooded an atrocity as the Puritan historian would wish his public to understand.

Fortunately for the reputation of Lord Byrom's troop what one may term official history is here supplemented and corrected from traditional sources. This is an admirable instance of the strong sidelight which survivals of this nature may throw upon past events. But it would be futile to argue that all traditions can be so satisfactorily worked out as this.

Three of these examples, it will be observed, date from the period of the Civil Wars, some two centuries and a half ago. Two of them, at any rate, were consciously related as historical incidents. The two remaining examples derive from a much older period. Such place-names as Earlsway and Rocester Lane embody no conscious tradition. They have no meaning for the folk who use them, and to whose tenacious memories we owe our knowledge of them. Superficially, all the material brought to your notice this evening is commonplace. Many a highly-coloured picturesque tradition can be traced to an imaginative guide-book. But there is no ground for suspecting any of these five traditions to have been inspired or due to motive. The evidence of bygone social conditions which they afford is all the more weighty because it is unconscious; and this leads me, though it is a little beside my main point, to draw attention to a popular belief which is by no means peculiar to Staffordshire. In October, 1910, a witness at an inquest at



Stone, in that county, said, "I was under the impression the body was not to be touched till the police came." The Coroner was much surprised (not being a folklorist), and rightly commented upon the absurdity of the idea. But is it so absurd? It is admittedly an inaccurate and highly inconvenient notion, but I cannot help feeling that its source lies far back in mediaeval criminal procedure. If so, there is here provided an excellent example of the stubbornness of traditional knowledge. Under the criminal law as it stood in the first three centuries after the Norman Conquest there was in the case of any unexplained death a certain presumption of guilt upon the first finder of the dead body, who was compelled to attend at the inquest. The following extracts from the Staffordshire Assize Roll of Henry III. will illustrate the procedure: "Thomas the miller, of Burton, and Richard his son, were drowned while conveying turf in a boat on the water of the Trent. Henry son of Ralph was the first finder. Nobody is suspected." Or this: "Nicholas, son of William de Oaken, through madness fell on the wheel of a mill so that he died. Henry the miller is the first finder and is not suspected. Henry did not appear, therefore his sureties are fined half a mark."

So then it was manifestly a prudent thing to let someone else be the first finder of a dead body. Now, a man who pulls a dead body out of the river stamps himself at once as the first finder: at any rate he runs great risk of being found in the act. The prudent man of the Middle Ages left someone else to do this, for fear lest he should be put to the inconvenience of clearing himself from a crime he had not committed. His descendant to-day, impelled, as I believe, by an inherited memory of mediaeval coroner's law, leaves the police to be the first to touch a dead body.

SAMBROOKE A. H. BURNE.

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## SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF IRISH FOLKLORE.

BY D. H. MOUTRAY READ.

*(Read at Meeting, 15th March, 1916.)*

IT was, I believe, Mr. Andrew Lang who summarised Scotch Folklore as "all witches" and Irish as "all fairies." The latter at least is the popular idea on the subject. It is correct to the extent that belief in fairies (*Sidhe*) is general in Ireland—all the varieties, from the Fairy Host to the Leprechaun. The varieties, it must not be forgotten, are more than a differentiation of local nomenclature. The Fairy Host, according to tradition, consists of the fallen angels. One version of their origin is as follows:

The Devil was admiring himself in a looking-glass, and he said, "I am very beautiful. I am very beautiful. I am more beautiful than God." He went on saying this till God got in a tearing rage and turned the Devil out of Heaven. A lot of the angels laughed at this, and God was so angry at their laughing that He threw them out of Heaven also, bailing them out by handfuls. So they fell down, down, down. But St. Michael interfered and begged for them to be spared. So they were allowed to stay where they were. And some were on earth, some were in the sea, and some were in the sky. So they became the Fairy Host.<sup>1</sup>

A great deal has been written about the Banshee, there-

<sup>1</sup> Given me by Miss B. Hunt.



fore I will only give you a story of the origin of Banshees I met with in Wicklow the year before last :

"Banshees were out in my day, so I never heard one,<sup>2</sup> but I heard tell of them. It was this way they came to be. When a man with a bit of money was going to die he would send for the keeners, maybe three or four, as many as he could pay. The rich man he would have many keeners at his burial. He would give a pound to the one, and a pound to this other, and tell them he wished them to keen for him, and for any more of his family that might die. And some were better keeners than the rest, and they would be kept to keen for all of a family, and they would promise always to keen when one of that family died. Then when they came to die they still went on keening when one was dead. So they became Banshees. I did hear," my informant added, "of a terrible loud screeching that was to be heard once for miles. It could not be a man was doing it, for they who heard at the same time was miles away."

"Screech owls," I hazarded, but was suppressed with, "There be none of them bastes here."

The accuracy of this ornithological information is open to question. Also, if this man had not heard a Banshee there is a plenitude of information from others who have, and details of various death portents.<sup>3</sup>

Irish fairy-lore has been exploited almost to the exclusion of any other, so there is no need to enlarge on this segment

<sup>2</sup> This agrees with Miss Edgeworth, *Castle Rackrent*, p. 17 (Morley's Universal Library Edition). A neighbour of a cousin in whose house in Tyrone I wrote part of this paper tells a different tale. He heard himself the strange unearthly keen in a relative's house just before one of the party died, and could find no human origin for the sound.

<sup>3</sup> One case told me by a member of this Society was of an Englishman who, when visiting his Irish brother-in-law, saw and heard a Banshee. He met "a little old woman"—no mortal—on the stairs in ordinary times, but did not see her when they heard "awful shrieks." His sister at the time was supposed to be dying. She, however, recovered—but within three days of the apparition's warning the Irish husband lay dead.



of Irish folklore. For it is but a segment. On the other hand, the witch-cult of the country has been practically ignored. There has been an absence of literature on the subject, and Ireland never developed a witch-cult of her own. Fairy-lore and witch-lore have, moreover, been confused. People use the words "witch" and "bewitched" when speaking of fairies. Yet, though it affected the island only partially, Ireland has not been exempt from the universal witch-cult, and I have found belief in both witches and fairies held by the same individuals, but clearly distinguished by them. For instance, a Queen's County man who told me that the will-o'-the-wisp was "a little dwarf that lived in the bog and waved," also told me the following tale :

"There was a man was a friend of me father's, John Daly he was, and 'tis often I heard me father tell the tale. John Daly told him, and me father firmly believed it to be the truth. There was a suspicion that someone was taking the milk from a cow, so they put a pony in the field to watch it. One morning early, say about three of the clock, there was a great noise heard, and John Daly creeping up to see what the mischief might be saw a hare taking the milk from the cow, sucking at her teats. John Daly had a big stick in his hand, a bit of a bludgeon with a knob to its top, and he crept, and he crept, silently up till he let out a great smack with his stick at the hare and broke her thigh. She limped off at that, and John Daly was content. 'She'll not be taking any more milk I'm thinking,' says he. Now a week after that as John Daly was driving barley to the market very early in the morning he wanted a light to his pipe. There was no ditch<sup>4</sup> along that road as there would be on the pike-road, so he drove up to a cottage he saw down by the bog and went in. There was two old women in the cottage, and one of them sat by the table sipping tea. 'Will you take a sup o' tay?' says she to John Daly.

<sup>4</sup> Hedge.



'No, thanks,' says he, 'I must get along to the market.' 'Tis lucky for you John Daly,' says the old girl in the corner, 'that you did not taste her tay, for she'll not be forgiving you breaking her thigh, and 'tis all your life you'd be remembering it.' "

Hares are certainly beasts of ill-omen, universally to be regarded with grave suspicion. As one-time whip to a pack of beagles I am tempted to digress and ask why? Has it anything to do with the hare's custom of running in a ring when hunted, and the uncanny way in which Puss will turn and jump right through her pursuers? Not so many years ago none of the country folk would go down one of the avenues of —, my cousin's home in Co. Tyrone, because it passed by a wood where a black hare had been seen, and a man was not ashamed to confess he would "never go on his lonesome" there after dark, for the black hare was certainly a witch. As hares are witches they should be stoned on May Day. A Limerick lady told me, "It was only a few years ago they burnt a woman for a witch, I remember. She started digging potatoes with her left foot of a Monday morning. That would be bringing a curse on the crop, so they stoned her in the field and burnt her." This was "since 1905." Cross-questioning elicited nothing more definite, but the time tallies with the even vaguer mention of a recent witch-burning made by a man in the Royal Irish Constabulary, and rumours of witch-burning are to hand within the last ten years in Clare, Kerry, Sligo, and Roscommon.

I have no details, but some at least could be found in the records of the R.I.C. Speaking of the south and west a police sergeant told me two years ago, "There be many witches in those parts. There was a quack doctor, Quin was his name, in Tipperary, and he took a woman and burnt her for a witch." Nor was this the notorious Clonmel case, when a woman was burnt because she was supposed to be a fairy changeling.



The difference between the work of a fairy and a witch appears to be that the fairy changes by kidnapping the person and leaving a substitute to impose on their relatives and neighbours: the witch does not kidnap, but may work radical and evil alteration in the victim. Sometimes the Devil takes a direct hand in the mischief-making. Ballinagarde, the home of the Crokers, is under a *meeah* (curse), for the Devil dined there, being invited somehow by mistake. Such tales might be multiplied endlessly, but I will only quote one, from Cork:

"This is the tale of the Widow O'Brien's pig. 'Twas the finest pig in all Mallow, and the pride of her soul. There was not such another pig ever to be seen. And she, going to the sty one day, did find he be missing. 'Tis not there he is. He be lost. Sure and herself was kilt with misery, and 'twas not long but she did call the boys together to send them a hunt for it. Then away they went hopping and lepping to hunt for the Widow's pig. And they hunted and they hunted, but not a sign of a trace could they find of him. He was lost entirely. And the next day was the Sunday, so the Widow went to Mass, and 'twas herself did not pray for a pig I'm thinking. Now when they came out of Mass there was the jewel of a row, a shrieking and a screaming from all the Protestants that did be going to church, and out with a squealing and a squalling came running the pig. Now would you believe it, 'tis true I'm telling you, they'd found him asleep in the Protestant pulpit. So the boys they knew the divil was in him, and they consulted together what would be the way to be driving him out. And they took the pig down to the tide, and they washed him, and they laved him, and they scrubbed him all over. But 'twas no good. The pig died. The divil was in him."

However, the subject of this paper is not Irish Folktales, but *Characteristics of Irish Folklore*. I have started with the tales, because they are the part that looms largest



in popular recognition. The reason of this error, and it amounts to an error, is that collectors record tales and not customs. The temptation is obvious. But none the less it is to be deplored. The branches of the tree have been hidden by the leaves, or, one might almost say, the flowers. Surely the anthropological value lies as much, or more, in contributory causes and the manner of the telling than in the tale. Yet book after book of tales may be opened wherein no mention is made of the *ceilidhs*, or gatherings round the fireside on winter evenings when tales are told, and told again. A man will come into a neighbour's house, saying, "God save you all"—he may add, "barring the cat!" If the answer be, "God save you kindly," he sits down among the assembled group. If other answer is given he must go away. In this fashion people pick out some dozen of their friends and make a merry party. If a man wants to prove an alibi, should he get into trouble, he will at once say he was keeping his *ceilidh*, or "kallying." "I was making me *kally*." "I was out on me *ceilidh*."

Another social gathering is known as a *join*. At a join the guests either subscribe for a barrel of porter, or each brings his own drink, and they play cards. Somewhat similar, though with more serious import, is a *mehil*. If some one is ill, or very hard up, his neighbours come for a day's digging, and he supplies them with boxty and drink. Boxty, as made in Cavan, Leitrim, and Fermanagh, is raw, grated potatoes, wrung through a cloth, mixed with flour, boiled first, then stewed and fried. Bullockeen (veal) and boxty are the traditional wedding breakfast in Cavan and Leitrim.<sup>5</sup>

A section of Irish folklore that deserved better study, and record, and may now be largely irrecoverable, is the herbalist lore of the island, a true native cultural tradition—or traditional culture. If herbal charms and herbal

<sup>5</sup> Told me by Miss B. Hunt.



medicine were inextricably combined, that is not a peculiarity nor exclusively Irish, whereas the general botanical knowledge was considerable, and Lady Wilde counted it a national characteristic.<sup>6</sup> It is only to be expected that numbers of herbs employed, of days whereon the potion be given, have weight in the potency of the cure, with concomitant value attached to seasons of gathering, times of year or day when compounded and administered. Certain "harbs" here, as elsewhere, were credited with super-extra virtues above and beyond scientific limitations. Belief in charms and potions is for the finding in all parts of Ireland, and whatever strides the modern pharmacopœia may be making, the "quack doctor," the cow doctor, the wizard, and the wise woman have yet their clientèle. "Witches," as I have heard Ulster folk call both the latter, will make charms to protect the owner from many ills, especially from the evil eye—though certainly it is not only in the north that a person may "ill-look" you.

There is a measure of daring in the employment of magical remedies. Nor is there reason for surprise at the fear popularly connected with the administration of a love potion for instance—"a very awful act and full of danger," wrote Lady Wilde<sup>7</sup>—when one finds ten leaves of hemlock dried and powdered went to the making.

The charm is not always complex, though many are. I once asked an Ulsterman if he knew any. "I come from the civilised parts," said he, but added as an afterthought, "They Catholics are very superstitious. There was a neighbour of me father's now who would always put the eggshells on top of the coop when the chickens were hatched. He would keep them there or the chickens would die."

In *Folk-Lore*, vol. xvi. p. 200, is an excellent account of the cow doctor, and of his charms compounded with "three mearne water," a silver coin and "erribs." One day when

<sup>6</sup> Wilde, *Ancient Cures*, p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Ancient Cures*, p. 72.



a cow doctor had been summoned to treat a sick cow—this was in Munster a few years ago—two sceptical young people came to see the performance. When the charm, a small leather bag, had been passed over and about the animal and left on its back, an excuse was made to get the cow doctor away for a moment. During his absence they opened the bag, and found it contained only three small stones. Despite the interference with the charm the beast recovered.

Mention should be made of the supposed curative powers of certain wells, springs and pools. There is the famous well of Doone in Donegal, surrounded by votive offerings of rags and crutches. In Co. Tyrone, at Altedavan (Ordnance spelling of the Irish *Alta dhioull*—the Devil's glen) is a well which I remember long ago was filled with pins and buttons, and is still resorted to by the sick in firm belief that dropping a pin or a button in it will relieve them of disease. The so-called "well" is a hollow basin in an out-jutting rock, and is filled with rain water only. It is, however, "holy water" in the country people's eyes. Besides curative, it used to be credited with magical powers, and I remember I dropped a pin in with my eyes shut, and wished a wish—to this day not accomplished!

A point that calls for some comment is the prevalence of cattle-folklore. This is especially noticeable when one examines into Irish Calendar Customs. On the other hand, though it might be expected, in view of the importance of Irish herbal lore, that agricultural customs would bulk largely in the Irish Calendar, so far as I am aware this is not the case. There are, of course, references in plenty to the time or season of gathering herbs; and flowers and branches enter considerably into folk customs; but of purely agricultural hardly any seem noted. A stone from the bonfire on St. John's Eve should be thrown for luck over on the potato field.<sup>8</sup> Parsley should be sown on Good

<sup>8</sup> Daniel Deeney, *Peasant Lore*, p. 18.



Friday, because it goes down into Hell seven times before it comes up. I have also references to a few harvest customs,<sup>9</sup> but, taken as a whole, there is a lack of agricultural folklore. Possibly weather conditions have some share in determining this, economic certainly have had.

The origin of this paper was a conversation with my friend, Miss Burne, who asked me if I could account for the singular lack of Calendar Customs in Ireland. The alleged lack surprised me. Of all parts of the—still—United Kingdom I imagined my own island—where folk-memory is amazingly long—would provide the richest harvest for the Brand Committee. I mentioned the puzzle to a fellow-countrywoman, "And are there none? But I'm sure we could invent some," said she, and therewith furnished me with a peg for *Characteristics of Irish Folklore*. The remark was so entirely characteristic. Here was a Sassenach wanting information. It was up to Ireland to supply it. Such supply was demanded by politeness, and for the honour of the old country it must be forthcoming. Calendar Customs are presumably desirable things—unlike snakes—therefore the chapter thereon in the new *Brand* must not resemble the proverbial one on snakes in Irish Natural History.

It is an old trouble: age old.

To explain it is to explain centuries of misunderstanding between the two peoples—to analyse it is a nice problem for the student of psychology and metaphysics. Here it suffices to say that, as in all things Irish, the reasons are both complex and contradictory: something of good nature, a measure of disdain, much pride, a touch of despair, genuine curiosity, and a leavening of wit. It was curiosity largely that led me to plunge into a study of what has been written on the subject. I thought, and herewith to my present conclusions—for I still think—that there must be "lashings

<sup>9</sup> Hall, iii. 247. Andrews, *Ulster Folklore*, ch. ii. "Winning the Churn." *F.-L.* xvi. 185-6.



and leavings" of calendar material for the seeking, nor are they only to be found in what an Ulsterman designated "they backward parts." But the search is beset with an unusual allowance of difficulties. It would almost seem as though writers on Irish customs had entered into a conspiracy not to write about Irish customs. This may be taken as "so characteristic of the Irish," but we are by no means the only offenders. You may put it down to the natural perversity of the beast when the author of *Irish Local Legends* (O'Hanlon) devotes several pages to a diatribe against Joseph Chamberlain and the British South African policy! But if this is perversity, only blank ignorance explains many sins of omission and commission set to the account of English writers. A favourite remark of both Irish and English is that the customs at X do not differ from those at Y, and that those at Y are too well known and generally observed elsewhere to need description, and therewith more folk-tales and nary a custom. Certain peculiar ones have attracted attention, such as Hunting the Wren on St. Stephen's Day in the South. A century ago this was said to be dying out, or even obsolete,<sup>10</sup> but I have heard of Wren Boys from friends within the last three or four years, and have several variants of the Wren Boys' song. One, from Co. Cork, was sung first thing in the morning by small boys, who carried a bush with bits of rag stuck about it, but my friends saw no sign of a wren :

"The wran, the wran, the king of all birds,  
St. Stephen's Day was caught in the furze.  
We hunted him up and we hunted him down,  
And the best of the wran boys knocked him down.  
Sing holly, sing ivy, sing ivy, sing holly,  
To keep a bad Christmas it is but a folly,  
For Christmas comes but once a year,  
And when it comes it brings good cheer.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Shaw Mason, ii. 460.



"Mr. — is a worthy man,  
And to his house we've brought the wran.  
So up with the kettle and down with the pan,  
And give us a penny and let us be gone!  
Sing holly, etc." <sup>11</sup>

In a County Clare version the singers, who had blackened faces and carried a bladder, altered the last lines to :

"Although he's little, his family's great,  
So rise up young ladies and give us a treat."

<sup>11</sup> VARIANT I.

"Mr. — is a worthy man,  
And to his house we've brought the wran;  
The wran, the wran, that you may see  
Is guarded by the holly-tree.  
Sing holly, etc."

"The wran, the wran, the king of all birds,  
St. Stephen his Day was cot in the furze,  
And though he's little his family's great,  
So arise, good lady, and give us a trate.  
Sing holly, etc."

"Yet if you do fill it of the small,  
It will not do for our boys at all;  
But if you fill it of the best,  
We hope in heaven your soul may rest.  
Sing holly, etc."

VARIANT II.

"The wran, the wran, the king of all birds,  
St. Stephen's Day was cot in the furze,  
Although he's little his family's grate,  
Put your hand in your pocket and give us a trate.  
Sing holly, etc."

"And if you dhraw it ov the best,  
I hope in heaven yer sowl will rest,  
But if you dhraw it ov the small  
It won't agree wid de wran boys at all.  
Sing holly, etc."

Hall, *Tour in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 24.



Another account, from West Cork and Kerry, gives:

“At Calaghan’s Gate we knocked him down,”<sup>12</sup>

and the Wren Boys there, if they could not find a wren, killed a robin.<sup>13</sup> The wren’s breast was always smeared with blood.

A paper on Irish bird-lore has already been published by this Society,<sup>14</sup> so I will only add a note on a point of bird-lore personally known to me, viz. the dislike, obviously imported, of the magpie—obviously, as the bird was not known in Ireland before the eighteenth century. Derrick, in 1578, wrote:

“No pies to pluck the thatch from house,  
Are breed in Irishe ground.”<sup>15</sup>

I remember once a Mayo man, just as our party was starting out shooting, caught sight of a magpie. “Bedad!” says he, “if it’s bad luck at all it’ll be bad luck to the magpie!”—and he shot the bird on the spot.

Another custom frequently noted is the bonfire or bonefire. Accounts of May or Midsummer bonfires may be found in many eighteenth-century books, and as early as the days of Colonel Vallancey, speculation was rife as to their significance and origin. On May Eve and Midsummer Eve bonfires are general. Shaw Mason mentions them on St. Peter’s Eve and St. James’s Eve in Co. Wexford,<sup>16</sup> and there is a note in the Cork *H.A.S.J.* of bonfires on the south-east coast on St. Peter’s Day and Lammas Day.<sup>17</sup> Personally I know them best in connection with political not calendar events.

The first points that suggest themselves to the student of Irish Calendar Customs are the marked division of the

<sup>12</sup> Calaghan’s Gate is a meet of the Carberry Hunt.

<sup>13</sup> “The robin and the wren  
Are God’s two holy men.”

<sup>14</sup> *F.-L. J.*, vol. ii. pp. 65-7.

<sup>15</sup> Somers’ *Tracts*, vol. i. p. 582, quoted by Lecky, vol. i. p. 19.

<sup>16</sup> Shaw Mason, vol. i. p. 252.

<sup>17</sup> See also Shaw Mason, iii. 75.



year at May and November<sup>18</sup> (the "dead month"), and the importance of the Eves. To make a rough order of merit, based on the number and variety of observances, May Eve and Day in my note-book come easily first. There are herbs and dew to be gathered for charms, boughs and branches for protection—in the South they are placed not only on houses and sheds but on the railway engines, chestnut boughs for choice; flowers, especially primroses, or sometimes marsh marigolds—yellow, as best befits a butter festival—to be sprinkled on doorsteps and window-ledge, as offerings to the Good People, whose magic music can be heard on this day by mortal man. Shee (*Sidhe*) power predominates on May Day, at Whitsuntide, Midsummer, and Hallowtide. Fairies have no power on Fridays—according to some; it would hardly be Irish if all were in agreement! There are spells to be wrought, and divinations. The druktheen has been described by Lady Wilde and others. I myself know of a comparatively recent case in Co. Cork, where the little slug was hunted for and found early on May morning, placed on a plate sprinkled with flour, and baked alive in the oven that its writhings might trace in the flour the initials of the future lucky man.

I have mentioned May as a "butter festival." Precautions must be taken to protect the milk and butter at all times, but especially on May Day. "There be in many places in the south and in the midlands people who will take the butter, so you may churn the milk for a week and no butter will come," said my Queen's County informant. This power is independent of May Day pilfering or importunacy, and is also common to the fairies. The belief in this is so general as to give many opportunities for the dishonest. An old friend of mine when living near Newport, Co. Tipperary, found the milk disappeared mys-

<sup>18</sup> See for half-yearly hirings, Hall, iii. 124; Shaw Mason, i. 125, iii. 176; Charleton, iv. 330-1; Young, etc.



teriously from her dairy. Dairyman and dairywoman alike had but one explanation—fairies; but investigation provided very human origin for the loss, none other than the dairyman himself being proved the thief. As for churning, if any one came in during the process and did not take a hand at the churn the fairies would at once send all the butter astray, and there would be no butter.

“If you put a gad just above the water level of a river or stream on May Eve,” said Miss Hunt to me, “and go to look at it in the morning you will know if the year is to be a fat or a lean one. If the water has risen and touches the gad it will be a bad season and crops will be bad and cattle not thrive.”<sup>19</sup> This is a Cavan custom. In Co. Cork children go round on May Day with May baskets, gaily trimmed and decorated with flowers and bits of ribbon. In the basket is a saucer for coins, and the children beg a penny for the May basket. They do not sprinkle primroses, as they do in Counties Mayo, Cavan, etc.

As an instance of Calendar Custom in the making, it is of interest to note that primroses in Dublin are sold by the flower-girls on 19th April. It is “Primrose Day,” and the proper thing is to sell and wear the flower. Needless to say they have not the faintest idea of the political significance attached to the wearing, or the flowers would be thrown tattered in the Liffey.

But I cannot attempt to recapitulate here all the May customs, and must pass on to my next lists, Midsummer and Hallowtide. Though there are bonfires, and also certain prohibitions governing fire on May Day, viz., it may not be given away,<sup>19</sup> must not be lit before noon, or till smoke is seen from the priest’s house,<sup>20</sup> etc.; fires are of more general importance at the Midsummer festival, when flowers are less in evidence. At Midsummer cattle customs again are noticeably important. But not only cattle pass through the fires on St. John’s Eve. Friends

<sup>19</sup> Wilde, *Ancient Cures*, p. 99.

<sup>20</sup> Wood Martin, vol. i. p. 282.



tell me they remember seeing couples jump hand in hand over, or through, the *bonfires*<sup>21</sup> at the cross roads on the top of a hill near Timoleague. In Co. Clare I have also heard of this jumping through the fires, and there the materials for the bonfires are collected for six months beforehand. At one time the bonfires were not relegated to country districts, but actually lit in the streets of the towns; for we find, in Warburton's *History of Dublin*,<sup>22</sup> that the Lord Mayor had to forbid the practice because of the danger from fire, and as a substitute candles were stuck in bushes in the streets.

The importance of the Eve as compared with the Day, noticeable at Midsummer, is even more marked at Hallow-tide. Hallow Eve is observed everywhere, though I was told in Co. Tyrone that there is "less silly mischief and monkey-tricks nowadays. Gardens are no longer trampled down, or gates taken off their hinges"—contingent on cutting cabbages, Ulster girls being as ready in the old days to go out at midnight and cut a cabbage, as their sisters in Munster were more recently to celebrate "Snap-apple Night" by filling their mouths with oats and going out to the door or gate to hear the name of their future husband called; or to melt lead and pour it through the wards of the hall-door key into a basin of cold water, to discover their fortunes. But divinations (it is to be noted they are usually done in the Devil's name) though they attract public interest—and hence the pen of the ready, and often only too superficial, writer—are by no means the serious business of this season. November is the month of mourning. It is above all things, by both Pagan and Christian ruling, the time of the dead. They may leave their graves and dance on Hallow E'en. They revisit the

<sup>21</sup> O'Hanlon gives an actual instance of bones being burnt at Ballymaddock (*Hist. Queen's County*, i. 277), and Latocnaye in 1797 mentions fires of bones on "certain" holidays in his *Promenade en Irlande*.

<sup>22</sup> Vol. ii. p. 1175.



scenes of their earthly life. Sacrifices were made to them on All Souls' Day. Blood must be spilt.<sup>23</sup> Sacrifice and blood-spilling are particularly observed on Martinmas Eve, which has its own prohibitions. To this day in Co. Mayo a chicken should be killed and its blood offered to St. Martin on his Eve, but, "no one would think of killing any kind of feathered thing on St. Martin's Day."<sup>24</sup>

The Christmas Customs I have notes on, almost without exception, suggest post-Christian influences. Bonfires are absent from my list, but candles take their place. Lighting the Christmas Candle is an act not to be omitted in many a house, and not only in the peasant's cabin. In Co. Mayo a candle is placed in the window of each cottage and left to burn all night : no Christmas Candle is ever put out, it must burn itself away. The door is left open. In West Clare the candles are lit in the windows on Little Christmas Day, or Woman's Christmas (Cork), that is to say, Twelfth Night. Those who die at midnight on Christmas Eve escape Purgatory, and a case is quoted in MacDonagh's *Irish Life and Character* (pp. 376-7) of a dying man being assisted by his relatives with a pillow to attain this desirable end.

Though Shrovetide, Easter, Whitsun, Lammass, and Michaelmas, may not offer the Brand Committee as much material as those seasons already noted, they will yet not fail to contribute an Irish share in the compilation. Shrovetide (Scraft) is the chief marriage season in the country, as after it no weddings may be celebrated, at least among the Roman Catholic population, till Easter, and Easter comes in the press of Spring work, if any work can be said to press in Ireland, outside the corners dominated by modern methods and commerce. Matrimonial customs therefore culminate, and end, on Shrove Tuesday, Pancake Day, Skellig Night. So on that day the boys go from house to house to get the girls to come out and dance with

<sup>23</sup> Wilde, *Ancient Cures*, p. 117.

<sup>24</sup> Sent me by Miss R. S. Macnamara.



them, or did quite recently, in the South. The Skellig list, being entirely Irish in origin and observance, demands more than casual mention, though the Skellig pilgrimages, from whence came the name, have been dealt with by more than one writer.<sup>25</sup> The list at its simplest summarises the names of couples who, in the opinion of their neighbours, should be engaged. A man from Macroom described more elaborate proceedings to me, and told how bands of youths ducked the unmarried in the river. A party would sally forth to catch unwary—or too wary!—bachelors, boys who, the village considered, should have settled down as respectable Benedicts. Say that one Paddy Leary had dallied unduly before taking his mate: the party, holding a rope, would watch for his approach, and then divide, and half would go one way, the rest on the other side round their victim, to wind him in the rope. Meanwhile a song would be improvised, to the effect that “Paddy Leary is an old man and ought to be married,” setting forth the merits and demerits of the accused, his worldly possessions, and the reasons why he ought to marry. This in rough rhyme would be chanted, and the doggerel sent round to the neighbours that they might sing and laugh him into matrimony. Satire has not lost its age-old influence in Erin.<sup>26</sup>

There may be penance about the Skellig list of to-day, but there is little solemnity, yet the name comes from the old custom of solemn penitential pilgrimages to the Skellig Rocks off the coast of Kerry, where no bird had power to fly over the ancient chapels, but must first alight and “walk gently over and then take wing.”<sup>27</sup> When the matrimonial element intruded on what Lecky calls these “perilous

<sup>25</sup> *J.C.H.A.S.*, 81; Wilde, etc.

<sup>26</sup> O'Curry notes, “from the remotest times down to our own its power was dreaded in Erin. . . . Of the antiquity of satire in Erin and the belief in its venomous power, we have the very important authority of Cormac's Glossary.” (Vol. i. p. 217.)

<sup>27</sup> Smith, *Kerry* (1756), pp. 113-7.



devotions" at "the Stone of Pain,"<sup>28</sup> I have no clue, but by degrees the pilgrimage, like many another, became less of a pilgrimage and more of a junketting, till the proceedings grew so notorious that the authorities intervened. No pilgrim adventures on the dangerous pathways of the Great Skellig to-day, and only rumour tells of old maids being taken off in boats to the rocks. Somewhat similar was the Waterford custom of Drawing the Log on Ash Wednesday, noted by the Halls in their *Tour* (vol. i. p. 315), a log being ducked, not a man, after it had been drawn by a rope through the streets to a chorus of:

"Come draw the log, come draw the log;  
Bachelors and maids come draw the log."

The Skellig list customs are entirely confined to the South, and even the name is for the most part unknown in Ulster. Chalk Sunday—when the boys chalk the backs of the unmarried—is, however, observed in all four Provinces, though I have only heard of Puss Thursday from Munster and Connaught.<sup>29</sup> Puss Thursday being the first Thursday in Lent, so that those who are not already married will probably continue so throughout the year—hence their disconsolate looks. "A puss on you" means an ugly face.

Ulster has her own peculiar Calendar Customs—though their observance is not entirely limited to that Province. One might revise the phrase and say Protestant Ireland has its own peculiar customs, with a passing note that, so deeply has religious severance gone, days recognised mutually by Protestant and Roman Catholic in England, for example Ash Wednesday—may be almost completely

<sup>28</sup> Lecky, *History of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 407.

<sup>29</sup> Chalk Sunday appears to vary, and be either Quinquagesima or the First Sunday in Lent, as in some places—Co. Mayo, *per ex.*—the boys waylaid and chalked the coats of eligible bachelors when assembling for Mass, as a sign that they ought to have married before that Sunday. Elsewhere it was done to show they should get married before Lent set a period to such doings.



ignored by Protestants in Ireland. The annual Orange celebration of the 12th July is, without doubt, the most important Calendar Custom of the North. I would like to write more fully of the garlands of orange lilies everywhere prominent, and all that I saw when I myself "walked" on one memorable 12th, but time forbids, and I can but mention the drums—beaten from early morning, not with ordinary drumsticks but canes, and so energetically it is by no means unusual for blood to stream from the wrists of the drummers; indeed it used to be almost a point of honour to go on drumming till it did! The drums are as significant to an Orangeman as blowing bottles—in lieu of horns—to the Nationalist boycotter. More local customs are the mimic representation of the Battle of Scarva, re-enacted every year, and the commemoration of the closing of the gates of Derry. The regrettable fights that in the past too often have marred these celebrations are, after all, Calendar Customs! They are but a variant of the faction fights<sup>30</sup> which have existed from time immemorial.

The characteristic points which will be noticeable in the new *Brand*, may be roughly summarised therefore: the importance of herbal lore; the prevalence of cattle-folklore; the marked distinction between married and unmarried, and the overwhelming number of local saints—whereof anon.

Many of the customs I have referred to, and very many more unmentioned ones, go to prove that Irish folklore must be well examined by any student who wishes to specialise on primitive social organisations. The distinction between married and unmarried enters very largely into Irish folk-

<sup>30</sup> If faction fights are as much "past" as some would have us believe. As late as the eighties the FitzGeralds wheeled for the Moriartys "for betraying the cause of Ireland." In other words, a sixteenth century tradition that the Moriartys betrayed the Desmond (MacDonough, *Irish Life and Character*, p. 57), and Harris Stone mentions a faction fight he witnessed in 1905 between the Joyces and the Martins at Clonbur (*Connemara*, p. 115). But an efficient Police Service—and there is no more competent body in the world than the Royal Irish Constabulary—has done much to end these "divarshions."



life. Girls whilst unmarried are at the disposal of their parents. Should a woman lack the courage and initiative to set forth on that search after fortune service in America or elsewhere may offer, life holds but sorry prospect for her when marriage is not her destiny—in other words, if no marriage portion can be secured her. This, in very many cases, is provided by the portion brought into the family by the son's wife. Nor is it only the peasants who have suffered from this cause. Many an estate has been drained to ruination by the heavy charges made upon it for the support of dependent members of the owner's kin, to an extent I believe quite unknown in England. A man in popular phrase is a "boy," whatever his age, if unmarried. The distinction even penetrated into military and civil organisations. The Dublin bachelors were under the Captaincy or guardianship of an annually elected "Mayor of the Bull Ring," who held authority to punish them for any moral lapse. "When any bachelor citizen," wrote Warburton, quoting from Harris' *Hist. of the City of Dublin*, pp. 152-3, "happened to marry, the custom was for the mayor of the bull ring and his attendants to conduct the bridegroom, upon his return from church, to the ring, and there with a solemn kiss receive his homage and last farewell: from whence the new married man took the mayor and sheriffs of the bull ring home to dinner with him, unless he were poor; in which case the mayor and his bachelors made a collection for him, which they gave to him at the ring, upon receiving his homage. But this office seems to have been ludicrous, and established merely by custom, without any foundation of authority."<sup>31</sup> In the same city the local military forces were mustered annually on Easter Monday, May Day, Midsummer Eve, and St. Peter's Eve. "The charges of these musters were defrayed by fines levied on such freemen as had been married the foregoing year. The mayor and principal citizens sat at these musters under a

<sup>31</sup> *Hist. of Dublin*, i. 112-3.



pavilion or tent erected on the top of a butt; and every person so married, being below the estate of paying a fine in money, presented the mayor with an orange, as an acknowledgment for the fine, which by the constitution and custom of the city he was liable to." <sup>32</sup>

I would draw attention to the gift of an orange, and to the occurrence in Irish folklore of wreaths and balls in connection with matrimonial observances. Unfortunately, so far as I have ascertained, these interesting *rites de passage* have been but little noticed. But Colonel Vallancey informs us that on May 3rd, "each bride married within the year makes up a large ball covered with gold or silver tissue (in resemblance of the Deity), and presents it to the young unmarried men of the neighbourhood, who, having previously made a circular garland of hoops, &c. (to represent the zodiac), come to the bride's house to fetch this representation of that planet. To such a pitch is this superstitious ceremony carried, I have known in the county of Waterford a *ball* to have cost a poor peasant two guineas." <sup>33</sup> Lady Wilde tells of hoop and balls carried by the dancers round the May bush; <sup>34</sup> the Halls describe how a decorated tree and ball was taken to a bride the first May Day after her wedding; <sup>35</sup> and Crofton Croker mentions the gift of a goaling ball on May Day. <sup>36</sup> In this connection it will be remembered that Arthur Young in his *Travels in Ireland*, after an account of the well-known custom of "horsing the bride," proceeds to tell of an annual hurling match, when a girl was given as prize to the winner. <sup>37</sup> Lecky quotes Young's note of this occurrence at Londonderry in a paragraph dealing with "a form of crime which was once inveterate in the national life, but which has been so completely extirpated that its very memory and tradition have

<sup>32</sup> Harris, pp. 150-2.

<sup>33</sup> *Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish Language*, p. 46.

<sup>34</sup> *Ancient Cures*, p. 102.

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 167.

<sup>36</sup> *Fairy Legends*, pp. 149-50.

<sup>37</sup> Vol. i. p. 447; vol. ii. p. 37.



almost passed away. I mean forcible abduction."<sup>38</sup> Lecky was not a folklorist, or that phrase might have been revised. On a previous page the historian, again giving Young as his authority, refers to the existence of what in a country with so high—and so deservedly high—a moral reputation, one would little expect to find—the recognition and practice of *droit de seigneur*.<sup>39</sup>

But all this would provide material for a paper in itself.

Still more would the local saints. This subject, in fact, is so large, so difficult, in that it demands such special knowledge of not only the people but of Irish history and literature, that, failing any such knowledge, I would gladly omit all but the mere mention of this section, were it not eminently characteristic of Irish folklore. A glance at the weighty volumes of O'Hanlon and other writers on Irish saints discovers the difficulty, while another glance suggests it is almost insuperable. There are indeed saints galore—lashings and leavings of saints—several for every day in the year, and enough over to satiate the appetite of the most greedy of hagiologists. The most important result of this plethora of native claimants is that the observation of fast and festival connected with foreign and better-known saints never made great headway in this country. Roman Catholicism in Ireland was but a palimpsest, Christianity but a seventh-century refurbishing of age-old faiths and customs. The water spirits—though this is not peculiar to Ireland—reappear in the disguise of patron saints, and, according to Colonel Wood Martin, at least one has emerged from saintly trappings and reassumed sway of the erstwhile "sacred" well at Toberconnell.<sup>40</sup>

As a rule the observance of saints' days are entirely local, and a minor native saint may oust a greater on their mutual "Day," in the vicinage of places connected by birth

<sup>38</sup> *Hist. of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 370.

<sup>39</sup> Young, ii. 126-8; Lecky, i. 286.

<sup>40</sup> *Hist. of Sligo*, p. 92.



or residence. A very good instance of this may be quoted. January 31 is kept for the most part as St. Bridget's Eve—that virgin sharing with St. Patrick marked precedence throughout the land. But in Co. Cavan January 31 is the peculiar property of St. Mogue. He was born in the ancient kingdom of Breffny, so in his native place “the last day of January must be kept, or the breaker of this custom gets a bad day for his funeral.”<sup>41</sup> But leave Breffny and cross into Connaught and in Co. Mayo you will find the girls carrying round dolls dressed up gaily in coloured ribbons, to gather a little money for a dance because it is St. Bridget's Eve.

Another instance of this, one might almost say non-recognition of the more orthodox calendar saints, is found on February 14; popularly St. Valentine's elsewhere. Now of Valentine observances I can find little or no trace, and the only matrimonial custom so far known to me at this season is in connection with an Irish local saint, for those who stand on the moat of the Boys' Fort near St. Gobinet's Well, on St. Gobinet's Day, will be married within the year.<sup>42</sup>

St. Gobnate, Gobinet, or Gobinata, Abbess of Ballyvourney, near Macroom, Co. Cork, is venerated, O'Hanlon states, in the South of Ireland, but there is conflicting evidence as to her day. Some of this I have tabulated—it does as another instance of the difficulties bristling round the collector of Calendar Customs dealing with Irish local saints:

According to the calendars, says O'Hanlon, her Patron day is February 11th,<sup>43</sup> and he mentions a cattle fair at Kilgobonet, Co. Waterford, the Fair of St. Gobinet's Well at Kilgobinet, Co. Limerick, when rounds and prayers are made at the well. But the Protestant Rector of Ballyvourney gives February 12 as the day when pilgrimages

<sup>41</sup> Told me by Miss B. Hunt.

<sup>42</sup> O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Saints*, vol. ii. p. 469.

<sup>43</sup> ii. 467.



were made to the well, and the bark was stripped by the pilgrims off the surrounding trees.

To complicate the matter further, John Richardson, writing in 1727, records under date St. Valentine's Eve,<sup>44</sup> "superstitions" connected with an "idol," which was kissed by the devout, who made offerings, rounds, and prayers at the well.

Richardson noted of the image—or as he has it, "idol" of St. Gobinet, that in addition to the annual customs, "the image is kept by one of the Family of the *O'Harlehy's*, and when any one is sick of the *Small-Pox*, they fend for it, Sacrifice a *Sheep* to it, and wrap the Skin about the sick Person, and the Family eat the Sheep. But this Idol hath now much lost its reputation, because two of the *O'Harlehy's* died lately of the *Small-Pox*." <sup>45</sup>

But the Saint's day is yet to settle, and a fourth authority, Smith, the historian of Co. Cork, gives February 14 as the Patron Day of Ballyvourney, Muskerry, and Kilshanick, where another holy well is dedicated to St. Gobinet.<sup>46</sup>

Whitsuntide further complicates the matter, for the saint is honoured also on O'Hanlon says Whit-Sunday, Richardson Whit-Thursday, and Smith Whit-Monday.

It is little wonder that confusion should arise over a question of chronological exactitude, where customs have had such a plenitude of official interference as in Ireland. In the second year of the reign of Queen Anne an Act was passed putting down "Pilgrimages by vast Numbers at certain Seasons; by which, not only the Peace of the Publick is greatly disturbed, but the Safety of the Government also hazarded by the riotous and unlawful assembling together of many Thousands of Papists, to the said Wells

<sup>44</sup> This is the only reference to St. Valentine I have come across in any book on Ireland.

<sup>45</sup> *The Great Folly, Superstition and Idolatry of Pilgrimages in Ireland*, pp. 76-7.

<sup>46</sup> Vol. i., bk. ii. p. 185.



and other Places." Therefore, the Act decreed: "All such meetings and Assemblies shall be deemed and adjudged Riots and unlawful Assemblies and punished as such." Punishment for attendance was a 10s. fine or a whipping; for any who "build Booths, sell Ale Victuals or any other Commodities," 20s. fine. Pilgrimages were—and in a lessened degree still are—made to lakes, ponds, wells, trees, stones, crosses, images, relics—in nearly every case connected with a local saint—the Patron—hence the name "Pattern." That they degenerated—or should one say reverted?—into scenes of licence and riot is very manifest, and had the Parliaments—equally at St. Stephen's Green and St. Stephen's—legislated to suppress no other folk customs there would have been less valid complaints, many just grievances would never have arisen, much national unhappiness might have been spared us. But decade after decade, century after century, legislation betrayed all the intolerance and bitterness bred of ignorance, nervousness, and fear. "The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge."

Time forbids examination of the results on education and other matters due, for instance, to the Penal Laws, interference with "hollydays," suppression of Sunday games,<sup>47</sup>—the national game of hurling was forbidden, and it is even recorded in the histories of Galway that "No woman shall make no open noise of an unreasonable chree, after the Irisherie, either before ne yet after, the death of any corpes."<sup>48</sup> The dead were deprived of the rights of burial ceremonies did they belong to the forbidden creed.<sup>49</sup> The Halls mention in their *Tour* seeing piles of stones by the wayside in Connemara, especially in the neighbourhood of Cong, and give a reproduction of a rough inscription on

<sup>47</sup> Sunday games were punished by a fine of 1s. or two hours in the stocks for any offender. Labourers were compelled to work Saints' Days, or had choice of 2s. fine or a whipping. Cf. Locker Lampson, *Consid. of the State of Ireland*.

<sup>48</sup> Caldwell, *Old Irish Life*, p. 16.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* p. 27.



one as proof of their monumental origin at this sad period.<sup>50</sup> Now I remember well noticing these grey heaps years ago. The jarvey told me they were monuments of the dead—I think he said of people who had been killed, but the friend with me, a local landowner, laughed and said this was a special fairy tale kept for the benefit of visitors from England.

In short, any popular assemblage, anything that might bring a concourse of people together, was ruthlessly suppressed, even potato diggings, gatherings of the neighbours to dig anyone's potatoes as a mark of esteem and popularity, fell under the ban of the law.<sup>51</sup> And it will be remembered how in Samuel Lover's tale of Rory O'More the priest broke up the party at the hero's wedding, saying, "Go your ways home in time, and keep out of harm's way: it is not like the good old times, when we could stop till the night was ripe, and we could throw the stocking, and do the thing dacently, as our fathers used to do before us; but we must make the best of a bad bargain, and go home before the sun is down."<sup>52</sup>

"His riverence" in this case sympathised with folk customs, but this was hardly the general clerical attitude. Evidence is not lacking that the priests had more to say to the cessation of pilgrimages than had the Penal Laws. Persecution was ever a potent apostle, and it is possible—I am inclined to use a stronger word than possible—that Catholic Emancipation did much to destroy old customs the laws had failed to uproot. Moreover, the great poverty and the increased price of drinks made the peasants less anxious for holidays.<sup>53</sup>

If, then, Ireland's share of British Calendar Customs should not prove equal to those of other parts of the Kingdom the reasons are not far to seek. Religious and social conditions, economic and political events, must have made

<sup>50</sup> Vol. iii. pp. 376-7.

<sup>52</sup> *Rory O'More*, p. 384.

<sup>51</sup> Young, ii. 192.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Shaw Martin, iii. 28.



alike for a paucity rather than a wealth of folk customs, and to-day we find genuine folk beliefs merged on the one hand in clerical superstitions, on the other shorn ruthlessly away. Ireland has been doomed to a lack of continuity in everything but trouble. On social conditions I have hardly touched—in part they explain the difficulty in obtaining records of Irish folklore. Oral traditions are swamped in time, especially in a land where class division was marked by so unbridged a gulf. Ireland knew no middle classes. There were “the quality” and the peasants—between lay a nondescript *omnium gatherum* of those who grasped a fleeting and fictitious importance and power through the curse of absenteeism—petty officials, agents, middlemen of all sorts—a blight everywhere, and nowhere in the world more than in Ireland. The solid Yeoman class that has contributed so largely to the prosperity of England cannot for a moment be compared to the Irish squireens.<sup>54</sup>

Yet, despite the changes and chances of Ireland's particularly troubled world, customs *have* lived through strife, rebellions, terrors, famine, and disease, to die out when more peaceful and prosperous times smiled on the land. Some have died because, in the turmoil of events, they had lost all meaning and sentiment for even the most conservative; many that linger are clearly verging into this category.<sup>55</sup> A friend who told me that her father always lit the Christmas candle—one in the dining-room and another in the kitchen for the servants—tried to discover a reason for the practice, but could not gather more than “it was ‘something to do with the Virgin Mary.’” In the

<sup>54</sup> “In the usual course of things these men are not often to be found in the society of gentry . . . At election times, however, these persons rise into sudden importance with all who have views upon the country.” Edgeworth, *The Absentee* (Morley's Univ. Lib. Edit.), p. 154. Further, to get any grasp on Irish folklore, one must study the various “settlements,” from prehistoric times to our own.

<sup>55</sup> Patron at Kilmanman.



middle of the Bog of Allen, the country people will point the Gobawn Seer's grave, and say "a tarrible big man" was buried there, and "nothing he didn't know"—but beyond that their knowledge is *nil*—and the country folk are not alone in this limited acquaintance with the great architect. The friend who told me of it knew nothing more, and I'm afraid before she told me I knew even less!

Customs, in Ireland as elsewhere, lingered while the grandparents handed on the tales and traditions they had learnt from their own aged progenitors. But Rebellion and Famine made ghastly breaks in Irish home life; subsequent immigration bit deep, and, so far as folklore is concerned, brought in the potent action of ridicule. The emigrant found his cherished notions ignored in more progressive lands, "And scorn and laughter together are the sire and dam of change." He, or she, laughed at there, returned to Ireland—what exile from Erin is without that dream of eventual homecoming?—to ridicule what was once a treasured tradition. It is not to them we must look for records.

Yet the Irish have long memories, unlike the English, who are good forgetters. William III. to Ulster folk is as much of an actual entity as George V. Rather more than less, for William has always been a vivid presence to them, George Rex is a recent addition. Fields and farms are called by the names, and considered the rightful property of, men who left them forty, fifty, even eighty years ago. The people talk of friends and events seemingly of to-day, and you find on investigation they are talking of thirty years ago.

The grave is no final repository for those who have passed from us—it is not even a matter of importance, as all too many unkempt cemeteries bear witness. At midnight at the full of the moon the dead of one parish may visit a neighbouring churchyard for a hurling match with those who lie there, and come to play visibly, for they force



a living man to keep goal for them.<sup>56</sup> For the dead never die. Intangibly, but really, they are with us still, and so, on All Souls' Eve the chair is left empty by the fireside, the pail of water placed handily, for the spirits of lost friends, dead relatives, when, in the silence of the night, they come to revisit the scenes of mortal life. In Ireland the Past never dies.

I began with a laugh—I fear that I end near tears, for, like the sunshine and showers of its climate, smile and sigh are inextricably blended in all things Irish. Sorrow, if not a necessity to wit, would appear to be a good fertiliser of humour. Strained to a certain point human endurance must smile or succumb. So Ireland's distresses, to my thinking, have largely contributed to Irish wit. A prosperous Ireland may be a duller and more sober affair. It will inevitably be a more prosaic one, and Ireland's plaint—unless radical change can be wrought in Irish nature as well as Irish economics—will be, "'Twas better to sit in the sun and be free in our dreaming." An unhappy fate has ever dogged the "most distressful country that ever yet was seen," and if you want to be thoroughly depressed I recommend you to study the records of, say, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and even if your people were not concerned in those doings—as mine were—it cannot be other than saddening to read history that confirms such horrors as children kept alive for days by feeding on the body of their dead mother.<sup>57</sup> And the Irish have long memories. Two years ago a man from one of the northern counties told my brother-in-law that he was a Nationalist because he remembered his grandmother, who was "starved to death outside the gates of Derry, and she but a child of eleven at the time."

D. H. MOUTRAY READ.

<sup>56</sup> MacDonagh, *Irish Life and Character*, p. 377.

<sup>57</sup> Lecky, i. 8.



## THREE LIVES OF SAINTS: THEIR BEARING ON FOLKLORE.

BY P. J. HEATHER.

WHEN the student of Folklore reads from the folklore point of view a book dating from a period much earlier than the present, there are two lines upon which he can proceed. He can find out what light it throws (1) upon the Folklore of the early period, or (2) upon present-day Folklore.

Before we can begin an investigation as to the Folklore of the early period, we must clear away one very great obstacle that hinders our approach.

Folklore is the learning of the Folk in contrast with Scientific knowledge. We must then be able to define the Science of that day before we can pronounce any belief to be unscientific. Happily we have a description of much of the Natural Science of that day in the *Early South English Legendary*,<sup>1</sup> suffixed to the life of St. Michael.

This opens in rather a startling fashion, with a reference to the battle between St. Michael and the Dragon.

Men sing on Michaelmas day—In holy church also  
Of one battle that St. Michael: with a dragon should do.

For ten orders of Angels: there were created then  
And the tenth order fell down: into pyne and woe:  
And yet there be orders Nine: and therefore man is wrought.  
To fulfil the tenth order: that was out of heaven brought.

<sup>1</sup> Published by the Early English Text Society.



It proceeds to tell how spirits, good and evil, come to men in sleep, and the evil ones cause nightmare. In many dark ways you may see companies, in form of women, dancing and playing (they are called Elves).

The devil is like a tied dog ; barking and biting at men.  
He beckons with his fingers : Their names are little man, leech,  
longman, teacher, the stronge (thumb).

The right pit of hell is : amid the Earth, within.

For the least star is,  
In Heaven, as the book tells us : more than all the Earth, I-wis.  
For whoso were on high by any star : if it might so be.  
So little would the earth seem : that hardly he could it see.

As an apple the earth is round : so that evermore  
Half the earth the sun shines on : howsoever it go.

Eight firmaments there be.  
The topmost is the right heaven : in which the stars are.

Beneath are seven firmaments : each of them I-wis  
One star hath without more : that planet called is.  
Saturnus is above all : and Jupiter then next.  
Then Mars beneath him : and then the Sun is.  
Venus next, the clear star : Mercury then I-wis.  
That seldom is seen by us : the Moon is next the ground.  
Through great wit of clergie : their names were first found.<sup>2</sup>  
For each of these seven Stars may : great wonder on Earth do.  
Both of weather and of fruit : as their power lends thereto.

Man is born under their power.

The days of the week are called by name after the planets, and Mars and Saturn being evil influences men shun beginning work on Tuesday and Saturday.... The moon is black, except where the sun shines on her.... One hundred and

<sup>2</sup> A beautiful touch—the names were discovered, not given.



sixty-five times bigger than the earth is the sun, and the earth is nine times bigger than the moon. The sun is more than three times as far from the earth as the moon.

So far is the heaven from earth that, if a man travelled forty miles each day, he would not come to the heaven, where the stars are, in 8000 years. If Adam had started, he would still be short by a thousand mile and more.... But a man's soul travels quicker—as quick as thought or lightning.... Beneath the lowest heaven are four elements—fire, air, water, earth.... He tells of lightning and thunder, and explains that sound travels more slowly than light....

Men say that winter thunder is seldom good ;  
But between summer and winter (in April and May),  
And from harvest to St. Clement's day ;  
Then is the thunder kind enough and lightning also.  
How it is that thunder often kills man and smites down trees,  
I will tell.  
When our Lord suffered death on earth : and bound the devil for  
man,  
And broke down hell gates : with thunder thither he came  
Therefore ever afterwards : whereso the devils be,  
Of thunder they are so sore afraid : they know not where to flee :  
And they that dwell in the sky : and others as well as they,  
In strong fear come down : to know now whither to go,  
And they slay men by the way : as men may oft see.

Of lightning again he says :

For of the water cloud above : that fire is out brought,  
And since it comes from water : that fire will not quench.

He gives a very good description of the rising of vapour, owing to the heat of the sun and of its condensation in the colder strata of the air.

Rime—frost.

It cleaves on hedges all about : and in the woods also.



On trees, on stones, on beasts also : wherever it may cleave.  
I wot well, on my foretop : it has well oft done so.

Wells come of great water : and especially from the sea  
Thro' veins all under the Earth : and to the sea go again.

The moon causes tides.... Only the 7th part of the  
earth is habitable.... Each living thing is made of the  
four elements—earth, water, air and fire.... Four char-  
acters of man, according as one or other of the four elements  
predominates....

In each man three souls be : but not all alike good  
As I told you before of three balls ; if ye it understood  
In the lowest ball : whereof the liver springs  
There comes one-manner soul : at the beginning as it were a kind  
of life : that sends nourishment  
To the limbs all about : and bringeth on their growth.  
A like natured soul to this : is in each thing that grows  
In trees and in grass also

The second soul has its seat in the heart.

That soul hath each thing : that evil may overgo  
Beast and fowl and fish also : worm and others more.

Therefore when a man dies these souls die also.  
Yet there is a third soul : that all their master is.  
This soul takes its dwelling : and remains I-wis,  
In the child's brain on high ; that his highest limb is.  
This soul lasts ever : and ne dies never more.

If the immortal soul goes to Joy : the other two mortal  
souls betoken that fact by leaving the limbs and features  
and the hue respectively of a fair colour after death.

This, then, is the theory of the world, the natural science,  
as we should now say, of that period. The Professor Ray  
Lankester of that day, had he written papers on Science



from an Easy Chair, would have told what this monk tells of the accurate knowledge of his day.

And an important point which we should notice is the proportion which truth bears to error. We are somewhat apt in our search for beliefs and superstitions to overlook or reject the true, and to spend our time only in gloating over and classifying the items of the false that we come across.

We may remark then that, side by side with the belief in Astrology, we have a list of the planets. In one and the same paragraph we have the exact locality of hell explained to us, and we hear that "as an apple the earth is round." We are told that the earth is nine times as big as the moon, while the explanation of the moon's phases is correctly given.

We have, too, a similar treatise on Natural History, the MS. of which dates from about the middle of the thirteenth century. It is a translation from the Latin Physiologus of Theobaldus.

"A Bestiary" gives us true and fancied details of many animals, birds and reptiles.

The adder, we are told, casts his slough by crawling through a stone with a hole in it, the point about the hole in the stone being that it should be so narrow as to allow the snake to wriggle through, but only without his skin! The adder will only attack a *clothed* man.

The ant likes wheat but avoids barley.

The ant bites grains of corn in two, that they may not sprout in her store-room.

Dragons won't stir out when they hear the panther's roar.

The fox's wiliness is shown by its lying still until the ravens think it dead: upon their approaching him, he jumps up and captures them.

A hart can swallow an adder without being harmed by the poison.



The lion is most interesting. When he is going along, he lashes his tail, not (as we might suppose) because he is angry, but in order to cover over his footsteps.

Also he sleeps with his eyes open.

In the sea are many wonders. The merman is like a maiden. She sinks ships and sings in many voices, thus luring men into danger.

The panther sends from his throat, when he roars, so sweet a smell as surpasses balsam, and attracts all animals within hearing to him. The only exception is the dragon, which lies still, when it hears the panther's roar, as if it were dead of fright.

The whale :

This fish that is unride  
 When he hungers he gapes wide  
 Out of his throat he sends a smell  
 The sweetest thing that is on land.  
 Therefore other fishes are drawn to him :  
 . . . . .  
 When he feels it he is glad  
 This Whale then locks his jaws  
 These fishes are sucked in  
 The small he will thus beguile  
 The great may he not begrip.

Again :

This fish lives on the sea bottom, till the storms come when summer and winter strive.

Then it rises and ships are storm tossed. The sailors with might draw towards the whale ; make fast their ship, land—light a fire. The fire burns up, the whale feels the heat, and dives and drowns all the crew.

Such is the tale the translator has to tell.

But we need not imagine that their Natural History began and ended with these wonderful facts or myths. We have seen already how the whale cannot swallow large fish.



We are told also of the ant :

Much she toileth  
In summer and in soft weather.

Of the fox we read :

The cock and the capon  
She fetcheth oft in the farm  
And the gander and the goose  
By the neck and by the nose  
Dragged is to her hole.

Of the elephant :

They together go on the wold  
As sheep that come out of the fold.

Of the panther :

He is black as hue of Whale  
With white spots shapen all  
White and rounded as a wheel  
And it becometh him right well.

The same thoughts arise on reading this book as we had about the Natural Science Lecture from the Legendary. Truth and fiction are mingled, and the scientific opinion of that day is a jumble of the two. This confusion survived till a much later period. Three centuries and more later than the time of this MS. we find Pepys in his *Diary* writing as follows :

*"Serpent and Bird in Lancashire.*

"Speaking of the nature of serpents, he told us some in the waste places of Lancashire do grow a great bigness and do feed upon larkes, which they take thus. They observe, when the lark is soared to the highest, and do crawl till they place themselves with their mouth uppermost, and there, as is conceived, they do eject poyson upon the bird ; for the bird do suddenly come down again in its course of a circle, and falls directly into the mouth of the serpent, which is very strange."



The fact that Pepys was one of the founders of the Royal Society adds piquancy to the story.

We might take as another example the department of Medical Science. "Here again," to quote Miss Burne's words, "the folklore remedy of the present day was the property of the learned in times past, and the medium by which it was disseminated was obviously an intrusive culture, namely the ecclesiastical culture of the Middle Ages."<sup>3</sup>

Even if we could entirely overcome this difficulty about drawing a clear distinction between the science of the day and its converse, we should still have a second obstacle to overcome. It is most difficult to come in contact with the Folk of the fourteenth century.

The Folk themselves were naturally inarticulate, then as always. There was no one to record their Lore. So the greater the distance of time that separates us from them the more difficult it is to trace their views and beliefs. Chaucer and the author of *Piers Plowman* do indeed give us some vivid sketches of the people, though such passages are quite exceptional. But we shall be able to gather scattered items from the writings of the period, from the Sermons of Wycliffe and other religious treatises of the day, from the works of Chaucer, and his predecessors and contemporaries; and by classifying these and by taking note of negative evidence, we may reasonably hope that a survey of the material at our disposal will lead to satisfactory results.

Students of Folklore have already dealt with those works which have as their province Myth and Legend; and old Customs and Institutions too have been investigated from various standpoints. But in another direction there still remains ground to be explored.

Folklore, we read in the *Hand Book of Folklore* (p. 1), is "the expression of the psychology of early man," and, though the knowledge of lay and story which was the

<sup>3</sup> *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxii. p. 28.



property of the community has been duly studied, we can review the knowledge of the individual, the man of the people, as regards the facts of nature, and examine his mental outlook on the problems of daily life.

It is not easy to collect the Folklore of the present day from printed books, though these are as plentiful as blackberries by the wayside, and one might imagine that the mental characteristics even of the illiterate would be incidentally recorded here and there in some of them. The difficulties of our problem are greatly increased in dealing with a remote period, when printing was unknown and manuscripts were few.

Let us leave aside the light our material throws upon present-day belief, and take, from the *Early South English Legendary*, a book of history. The "Life of Becket" deals, as its name tells us, with the period before 1170, and as the MS. from which the tale is edited is computed to be not later than 1295, we have a version of the Archbishop's Life which had no very long period in which to receive any very great additions by way of incrustation upon the original story. In fact, the book gives us a plain tale which is told quite plainly. Two facts stand out on the negative side—

The first is the small proportion of what we should call folklore. Out of over 2400 long lines, very few increase our knowledge of things magical, of proverbs, of luck and ill-luck, of remedies and customs—in a word, of the many things included in the province of folklore. We have an atmosphere which, from the folklore point of view, is not richer than that of, say, *Pepys' Diary*.

The second is the complete absence of that overwhelming fear of witchcraft, amounting to an obsession, which, so some people of the present day fancy, existed during the Middle Ages. Of course it may be urged that the writer was an ecclesiastic, who within the walls of the abbey or priory might feel himself secure. However much this



obsession may obtain in the case of savage races, we look in vain for any trace of it in this "Life of Becket."

Of the positive results gained from the story, we will deal first with an old custom. Becket is coming back to Canterbury, and processions and other expressions of joy were organised to welcome him.

Of bells and of tabors : so great was the sound.  
Of each manner glee and songs : when he came into town.  
That men could hear no other things : but the noise that was so great.

No more joy might there be : than there was in every street.

Noise, we may judge from this, was considered to be expressive of joy as well as serviceable for the driving away of eclipses.

Here we have a description of either ecclesiastical relic-hunting or of a practice of collecting the blood of those who died a violent death :

The wounds bled all the night : and men took thereof I-wis.  
And in the church of Canterbury : some of that blood yet is.

Much folk was about him : that blood for to keep.  
And for to gather of the blood : that was shed on the ground.  
And of that earth on which it fell (be-bled) : and gladly they it found.

Because no man would hinder them : thick they drew it away.

Of his burial, or rather of his right to be buried, we read as follows. The knights took counsel outside the town, after the murder :

They counselled to take his holy body : and it with wild horses draw.

And after hang it on a gallows : they said that it was law.  
For he was not worthy to be buried : in church or in churchyard.

Becket's curse :

Book and candle he took anon : and cursed right there.  
All that warred against holy church : and against her rights were.



While Becket was in France, at Pountenay, he had a dream :

I am sure that I shall yet : die in martyrdom.  
For to-night as I was asleep : a wondrous dream to me came.  
In the Church of Canterbury : methought I stood, I-wis.  
And strove for holy church : against the king and his.  
Then came there 4 knights : and smote me on the crown.  
Each after other, that my brain : was spilt abroad there down.

The following very interesting item of folklore refers to the feast held on the Christmas day before the martyrdom :

Therein on Xmas day : when the cursing was done  
He sat and ate right nobly : and many with him also.  
St. Thomas cast some of his bread to the hounds : that before  
him lay  
And every hound it forsook : as all that folk saw.  
Then handled he other bread : and let mix it at last  
With other bread that lay beside : and to the hounds let it be cast  
All that he had handled, the hounds neglected  
And chose out the other from it : and right cleanly it ate.  
The goodness (or the curse) was on him seen : right that same  
day  
When the hounds that bread forsook : that before him lay.

If we adopt the reading "St. Thomas," we are led to ask whether it was the hounds' sense of smell, or some other sense of discrimination that enabled them to make choice of the morsels that he had not touched? Was it a natural feeling of aversion on their part that led them to have nothing to do with him—like the rats leaving a sinking ship?

Of oaths :

We read of swearing upon the book  
The king swore great oaths  
St. Thomas swore by his day  
(The King) swore on the halidom, that through him was it (the  
murder) not.



Of proverbs we have two :

Seli child is soon i-learned : where he thinks to be good.<sup>4</sup>  
 For it is soothly said, when a man : is in most sorrow and tene.  
 Then is our Lord's grace nearest : as it was there seen.

Punishments mentioned include quartering, hanging and drawing.

The origin of the custom of fasting upon Tuesdays is given as follows :

It was on a Tuesday : that they the bones took up.  
 All his chances that he had : on Tuesdays came to him  
 On a Tuesday was he born : from his mother's womb he came  
 And also as men bring a thief : to receive his judgment  
 Before the King at Northampton : upon a Tuesday  
 With great shame was he brought : as all that folk saw  
 More foully than any thief : folk shamed him there.  
 On a Tuesday was he banished : and out of the land he went  
 And on a Tuesday at Pountenay : our Lord to him came  
 And said to him that sweet word : of his martyrdom.  
 Thomas, said our dear Lord : yet shall of thy blood  
 All my church honoured be : these words were well good.  
 On a Tuesday also good to England he came  
 After that he was banished : to receive his martyrdom  
 On a Tuesday at Canterbury : to death he was done  
 And after, on Tuesday : enshrined was he also  
 These seven Adventures on Tuesday : came to him at least  
 Therefore we see many men : make one promise  
 To leave flesh on Tuesday : or to fast with one meal only  
 Till they come to Canterbury : or while their life lasts.

It only remains to set on record an item of tradition which seems gathered from an Eastern source. The legend of the Vision in Jerusalem :

For in Jerusalem's land men knew : of his martyrdom  
 Within the first fortnight : that he met his death.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Canterbury Tales*, B. 1702, quoted by Skeat :  
 For sely child wol alday sonè lere.



For a Monk in that land : in his death-evil lay ;  
And his Abbot came to him : before his end-day  
And conjured him that he should : after his death there  
To him (the Abbot) come :

The Monk appeared accordingly and told of a fair procession  
that went to meet St. Thomas after his martyrdom and conduct  
him to the throne in heaven.

This was told to the patriarch of Jerusalem, and later on  
in the year :

The pilgrims told all the truth : as the Monk before had said.  
Thus was known in Jerusalem : the death of St. Thomas  
Within the first fortnight : that he martyred was.

There is another life in the same collection of *Saints' Lives*—that of Saint Edmund the King, which is worthy of attention.

Compared with the "Life of Becket" it is short, containing just 100 lines, and it is a late version, as the interval between the death of Edmund and the date of the manuscript is nearly 400 years (899-1290), as compared with the interval of little over 100 years in the case of Becket.

Yet it may fairly be claimed that the same two characteristics are true as in the case of Becket. The tale is plainly told, and there is a comparative absence of the folklore element, though the proportion—due in part, no doubt, to the longer interval of time that elapsed between the death and the MS.—is larger than in Becket's Life.

There is also the complete absence of the Witchcraft obsession, although this was the period in which the trial for witchcraft of Prince Robert d'Artois in French history took place (A.D. 1332).

We have, as I have said, a very fair historical tale, and there are three items of interest for the folklore student.

(1) After his martyrdom, when his body had been torn



to pieces, and his head cut off, he was left, and his head cast among the thorns in the wood of Eglesdon :

A wild wolf there came soon : and to the head he drew  
And there upon he lay and guarded it fast : against his kind,  
enough—

For his kind were rather to swallow it—and licked it oft, and  
kissed

And right as he would his own whelp : against wild beasts it kept.

(2) While the Christians, for East Anglia was overrun by the heathen Northmen, were seeking afterwards for the head of the King (after finding his body), the head itself, lying in the thornbush, began to speak :

They knew not that it was there : thus began that head to cry,  
As it among the thorns lay : and right these words said :  
Here, Here, Here, with sweet voice : as tho' it were alive ;  
When that folk heard that : thither they turned blithely ;  
That head they found in that place : as it itself said.

(3) They bore the body to St. Edmundsbury :

To St. Edmundsbury they led him : as men now call that town.  
There is an Abbey of Black Monks : as they set him down  
In a very noble shrine they brought him : as right it was to do.  
There he lieth yet whole and sound : as they see, that come him  
to :

For his body that was so torn : whole became anon  
And sound, as while he alive was : both of flesh and bone :  
That head also fixed to the body : as it was before.  
In all his body was no wound : that men might see there.  
But as his head was smitten off : as our Lord it would  
A small red line is all about (around) : shining as of gold.

The third example is that of King Edward, who was slain at Corfe Castle in 1001, nearly 300 years before our manuscript was written.

This is a poem of 232 lines, and we are rewarded with a larger proportion of the folklore element in it. We have the following positive results :



(1) We have two proverbial expressions :

And kissed him Judas' kiss : and at once slew him there.  
For lightly men hold ever with the living and the dead are at once  
still.

(2) Burial : after his (assassination) martyrdom, his body  
was buried by his murderers : the men of Wareham sought  
for the corpse far and wide.

On a time as these good men : of Wareham there beside  
In the country went and sought : this holy body full wide  
They stood and beheld beside them : then saw they a great light  
And clear withal about one place : as a pillar stand upright.  
They thought that there was God's grace : thither they went and  
sought

And found there this holy body : and out of the earth it brought.  
With right fair procession : this body forth they bear  
Into the town of Wareham : and fair they buried it there :  
In a church yard of our lady : by east of the church a little  
There they buried that sweet body : with great honour and pride  
A chapel there is reared : as that holy body lay  
In the town of Wareham : that stands yet to this day.

(3) Healing :

The pit where he was first found : a well began to spring there.  
Fair and clear that yet lasts : and is oft great benefit  
That men call to this day : St. Edward's well  
There many miracles have been : as the country doth tell.

(4) St. Edward's body was to be translated from Ware-  
ham to Shaftesbury :

To this holy body they went : and when they thereto came  
Whole and sound they found it lie : when they that body took up  
As whole it was without wound : as it ever in life was  
There was no one that saw it : that was not glad and joyful.

(5) On the road to Shaftesbury :

For two cripples that in their limbs : all crooked were  
With great hope lay in the way : and awaited the bier.



Their limbs began to grow straight : and whole became anon  
There was joy and bliss enough : among these men each one.

(6) His step-mother, who had caused the murder, was  
going to seek forgiveness at the new shrine :

As she would thitherward wend : and with her many a one  
They might not make her happy : that it (*i.e.* her horse) one foot  
would go.

They shoved it fast forward and dragged : and never the better it  
was.

The Queen thought on her misdeed : that all therefore it was.  
She lighted from her palfrey : and wished to go afoot  
Towards that holy body : but she had power none  
Backward she might well go : but forward for nothing.  
She ceased, when there was no other way : in great dole and  
mourning.

(7) In the Abbey of Shaftesbury.

In this Abbey St. Edward : lay one and twenty year  
So that they saw tokening oft : that he would no longer be there  
For when men came oft to his tomb : as lightly they bore it up  
And heaved it up and down as they would : as though it of light  
wood were.

(8) A vision.

St. Edward came also anight : as in a vision  
To a holy man that there was nigh : in another religion.  
“Go,” he said, “to Shaftesbury : to the Abbess of the house  
Dame Aldred that clean Maid : that is God’s spouse  
And say to her that I will no more : lie where I now do :  
That I be brought to another place : and that she tell my brother  
so.”

(9) The Bishop, with a procession,

to his tomb they went.

A fair Miracle among them all : our Lord for him there sent.  
For anon as they opened that lid : of his sweet tomb there  
There came adown through all the church : as though it a mist  
were



Among all the press that there was : that they saw all with eye  
Flew among them as a mist : so sweet a thing they never saw.

(10)

So sweet was the smell and good : that all that were there  
For mirth thought they stood : in paradise, not there.

In this manner he was enshrined.

A thousand year it was and one : after that time  
That our Lord was born on Earth : and descended for us to  
ground. .

So here we come upon a legend which has what we  
should call the typical atmosphere of ecclesiastical tales of  
the Middle Ages. Why is this ?

It is not merely accretion due to time. For although the  
tale of Becket is committed to writing within a little over  
100 years from his martyrdom, while this story had nearly  
300 years' interval in which to grow : yet if time were the  
chief factor we should expect a more "legendary" colouring  
still in the case of St. Edmund, whose date was nearly 400  
years before the manuscript.

The collection was, so thinks the Editor, very likely  
formed at Gloucester, at the Abbey there. Does this  
give the clue ? Is it possible that the monks were better  
informed about the Western Saints ? Yet in that case  
they would hardly write so long a life of Becket.

It may be rather that the legends of the Western Saints  
became more embellished than those of the East of  
England. The special characteristics of the Celtic race  
may explain why those tales which concern the more  
Celtic portions of our islands became more incrustated with  
those features which the Folklore student is seeking ; and  
this theory finds some support in the fact that from the  
portions of our islands which are predominantly Celtic, in  
addition to the tale of St. Kenelm, which is rich in such  
features, we have two stories from Ireland—St. Patrick's



Purgatory and the History of St. Brendan—in which history seems altogether left aside to make way for Legend or Myth.

Thus we see that the problems that need solving in dealing with the Legends, Beliefs, etc., of this period are as follows: Firstly, the line of demarcation between science and folklore is extremely difficult to define. Their science reads like what we should expect their folklore to be. It is hard to distinguish their popular beliefs.

Secondly, how can we reach the folk themselves? We have glimpses of them now and then in the acute observations of some of the writers; but if they pass unrecorded nowadays, how much more is that true of them over 500 years ago.

Thirdly, we need to dwell as carefully upon the negative side of the evidence as we do upon the positive elements. Those things that are omitted may have as deep a significance as those that are stated, and an omission is more easily overlooked than a statement.

Fourthly, the proportion of things interesting and dull must be observed and recorded. It is easy to jot down all the picturesque beliefs, and just as easy to neglect the proportion that exists between these and the dull remainder, though this may be as important to the student of folklore if he wishes to arrive at just conclusions, as the accurate weighing of certain substances may be to the chemist if he wants the materials he is experimenting upon to combine and produce the desired explosion.

We can now sum up the relative results of the two methods postulated at the beginning of this paper. Our examination has shown that it is practically impossible to reach the folk mind as distinguished from the scientific mind of the England of the thirteenth century, and that however convenient the word FOLKLORE may be, the term cannot logically be used of that period except to signify institution or custom. On the other hand, that



the Folklore of the present day has a very strong light thrown upon it by the MSS. of the thirteenth as well as of other centuries, earlier and later; and that by means of a systematic investigation of the Literature of our country, we shall be able, very possibly, to classify the different items of superstition, belief, and tradition which are now or recently have been extant; further, to separate (to use a metaphor) the palaeolithic from the neolithic, and to draw the distinction between these finds and those which belong to the metal ages.

P. J. HEATHER.





## COLLECTANEA.

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THE PHARMAKOS.

*Vol. xxvii. p. 218.*

THROUGH the kindness of the Editor I have seen an advance-proof of Mr. Morley Roberts' note on the *Pharmakos*. Of the soundness of the new Turkish derivation he offers I am quite incompetent to judge, but from the point of view of semantics I welcome it with delight, for it provides me with just the meaning which I now see to be imperative and above all things primary.

When in my *Prolegomena* (pp. 95-114) I discussed the *pharmakos* ceremony I saw in it, as most other commentators have seen, a vehicle of magical expulsion, but, accepting the current etymology<sup>1</sup> which connects *pharmakos* with Lett. *burt*, Lith. *burti*, "magic," I put the magic first and the expulsion second. I have since come to see that we must here, as so often, invert the order, the social outlaw becomes the magical vehicle, and this inversion, this rising of the religious or rather magical out of the social is made a practical certainty by Mr. Morley Roberts' new derivation—if sound.

The new light came to me from Glotz's *La solidarité de la famille*, a book too little known among classical scholars. Glotz shows that the essence of *θέμις* as contrasted with *δίκη* is law, or rather in primitive day custom *within* the clan or *γένος* as contrasted with law outside, or relations with other clans. Primitive *θέμις* knows but two crimes: murder of a clansman and adultery. For both the punishment is one, not death, for that is to shed a clansman's sacred blood, but *expulsion*. The whole clan assembles, the criminal is stripped naked, pursued with furious cries of *παίε, βάλλε*, he is

<sup>1</sup> See Prellwitz, *Etym. Wörterbuch*, s.v. *φάρμακον*, and Osthoff, "Allerhand Zauber-etymologisch beleuchtet," in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, xxiv. p. 109.



stoned, he is beaten, chased beyond the boundaries. He ceases to be a member of society, or ceases to be human, he is ἀτιμος, a pariah, to the Greeks a "wolf," or φαρμακός, to the Germans "Vogelfrei." Such a hapless outlaw was a natural vehicle for the convenient economy of transferring of sins—the beaten outlaw became the scapegoat.

In Russia *θέμις* survives because the *mir*, the community, lives on with much of its old intensity of group feeling. Maxim Gorky<sup>2</sup> saw with his own eyes on the 15th July, 1891, in the village of Kandýbovka, in the province of Cherson, the horrid ceremony of the "Vývod, or Leading-Out" of the woman taken in adultery. The details are too gruesome for reproduction, the central fact is the woman as *verberata*. Among the Athenians the guilty pair are expelled side by side, in Russia the woman is alone. The important point is that the ceremony has no religious or even magical side. It is purely social.

Professor Murray, very jealous for the honour of the Greeks, has always steadily maintained that the *pharmakos* was not a human sacrifice. The reason now is clear. The sacrilegious man who breaks the *θέμις* of the clan is not killed, still less sacramentally eaten, he is *beaten out*.

JANE E. HARRISON.

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#### SUPERSTITION IN ESSEX.

##### *A Witch and Her "Niggets."*

A contributor in the current number of the *St. Albans Diocesan Gazette* gives the following extract from a letter he recently received containing details of a witch living in Essex within forty miles of London:

You may remember that there was a notorious reputed witch who died, and after her death her husband used to have his bed-

<sup>2</sup> Gorky's statement, exactly dated, is of course a valuable document, but I regret to see his gruesome account chosen out of the mass of accessible material as pleasant and profitable reading in the 'selections' published for the elementary student, by Dr. E. Boehme, in the *Sammlung Götschen*.



clothes suddenly twitched off his bed at night and carried up to the ceiling ; also he felt something like a cat jumping up on his bed, and the neighbours used to hear somebody rapping on their windows at night, and telling them it was time to wake up. Mr. V. had to go up to the cottage and lay the ghost in the traditional manner, after which the manifestations apparently ceased. A short time ago he was calling on a certain Mrs. C., and she told him that she was sure that this old woman was a witch, as some time before she died one of the neighbours called on her and found her feeding her niggets.

Mr. V.—“ Oh, what are niggets ? ”

Mrs. C.—“ Why those creepy-crawly things that witches keep all over them. She was sitting down with her niggets all round her, feeding them with little bits of grass all chopped up.”

Mr. V. surmises that a nigget is a kind of familiar spirit. Fancy such things going on forty miles from London.—*The Times*, 3rd September, 1915.

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AT THE BREDEN STONE.

*Earl Beauchamp installed as Admiral of Cinque Ports.*

With picturesque ceremony Earl Beauchamp was installed at Dover yesterday as Constable of Dover Castle, Lord Warden and Admiral of the Cinque Ports. The first portion of the ceremony was the assemblage at the Castle of the representative Barons from the fourteen towns in the federation, the Cinque Ports of Hastings, Dover, Sandwich, Hythe, Romney ; the ancient towns of Rye and Winchelsea, and the “limbs,” Ramsgate, Margate, Deal, Tenterden, Folkestone, Faversham, and Lydd. The gorgeous uniforms worn by the Barons at the King’s Coronation, together with the quaint dresses of the mace-sergeants and other officials, made a striking feature. The Lord Warden wore a naval uniform with scarlet collar and cuffs. Troops, bluejackets, and Territorials lined the whole route taken by the procession. After the roll-call of the Barons in the ancient banqueting hall at the Castle a short service was held in the Castle Church, the Archbishop of Canterbury officiating. The long procession wended its way through



crowds of people in the decorated streets to the Western Heights, and the Breden Stone, the site where many of his predecessors have been installed in past centuries. Here the ancient ceremony, the Grand Court of Shepway, was held, and Earl Beauchamp took the oath "to preserve the liberties of the Cinque Ports." After the Court lunch was served in the Town Hall. The fleet in the naval harbour dressed ship, and a salute was fired from Dover Castle.—*News of the World*, 18th July, 1914.

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#### CHRISTMAS MUMMING IN IRELAND.

While I was at home in the neighbourhood of Dundalk for a few days' leave in December last the house was visited one evening by a party of small boys mumming. We saw them play, and copied down the rhymes which follow. I consulted our gardener, an elderly Meath man, who has often supplied me with scraps of folklore, and found that he had no experience of Christmas mummers, but he interested himself in the subject and took down a version of the play from one Matthews, a labourer who works under him. Matthews, who is about forty years of age and a Louth man, says that when he was a "chap" (*i.e.* about fifteen) the ballad singers used to hawk broadsheets of mumming rhymes at Christmas time. He was rather vague about the whole thing, perhaps because he was shy with me. I have not been able to make as full enquiries as I should like, but it seems worth noting that small as the County Louth is Christmas mumming seems to be unknown in Ardee and Carlingford (Matthews comes from Braganstown near Castle Bellingham). The boys, who have disappeared from my ken, said something about a schoolmaster, so that possibly their version may have a literary origin. So may Matthews's for that matter. Perhaps (*a*) is mainly Patrick Kennedy's County Wicklow play,<sup>1</sup> and (*b*) a blend of Kennedy and some English version.

Matthews seemed to have no idea about dress, but most of the boys wore pointed masks and more or less distinctive costumes.

<sup>1</sup> *Dublin University Magazine*, 1863, page 584.



Rim Rhu had a long cut-away coat of blue flowered chintz and trousers of similar red material; the Doctor, a coat and a black bowler; and Diddle Doubt, a shovel hat. Beelzebub explained that he had started with a Tail but must have dropped it on the road.

(a) BOYS' VERSION.

*Rim Rhu.*<sup>2</sup>

Rim Rhu, gallant boys, give us room to rhyme :  
We are going to show some activity coming on to Christmas time.  
The night is young and an act is old.  
And an act that was never acted on a stage before,  
And if you don't believe me and give in to what I say,  
Enter in Prince George and he'll clear the way.

*Prince George.*

From England I have sprung.  
I have conquered many nations,  
And many victories won.

*Rim Rhu.*

What are you but an old stable lad?  
You fed your horse on oats and hay,  
And ran away.

*Prince George.*

You're a liar, sir !

*Rim Rhu.*

Take out your pot and pay.

*Prince George.*

Take out your sword and play.

[Fight. Prince George falls.]

*Rim Rhu.*

A doctor ! a doctor ! Any doctor to be found  
To cure this man of his deep and deadly wound ?

*Doctor.*

Here comes I, a doctor, doctor true and good.  
I have travelled France and Germany.

<sup>2</sup>I can make nothing of this name, and am inclined to think it merely a corruption of "room ! room !" though "rhu" may be *ruad*, "red."



*Rim Rhu.*

What can you cure, Doctor?

*Doctor.*

The plague was in, and the plague was out.

*Rim Rhu.*

What else can you cure, Doctor?

*Doctor.*

Get me an old woman threescore and ten,  
The knucklebone of her big toe hanging out, and I will set it in  
again.

Compogus, compogus, Paddy come play.  
Get up, dead man, and fight your battle again.

*Prince George.*

I have been half puffed and huddled in the sky :  
These moons and stars have caused me to die,  
And if you don't believe me and give in to what I say,  
Enter in Beelzebub and he'll clear the way.

*Beelzebub.*

Here comes I, Beelzebub,  
And on my shoulder I carry my club,  
And in my hand a dripping pan,  
I call myself a jolly old man,  
And if you don't believe me and give in to what I say,  
Enter in Oliver Cromwell and he'll clear the way.

*Oliver Cromwell.*

Here comes I, Sir Oliver Cromwell,  
With my large and copper nose.  
I made the Frenchman for to tremble, and the Germans for to  
quake,  
I bet the jolly Dutchman coming home from the wake.  
And if you don't believe me and give in to what I say,  
Enter in Diddle Doubt and he'll clear the way.

*Diddle Doubt.*

Here comes I, Diddle Doubt,  
With the tail of my shirt hanging out.



I was in hell, I was kicked out,  
 Fried in a pot of stirabout.  
 And money we want, and money we crave,  
 And if we don't get money we'll sweep yees all to the grave.

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(b) MATTHEWS'S VERSION.

3

Room, room, gallant boys,  
 Give us room to rhyme.  
 We'll show you some activity  
 Coming on to Christmas time.  
 Active young and active age,  
 Such activity was never acted on a stage.  
 And if you don't believe me  
 And give in to what I say,  
 Enter in Prince George  
 And he'll show you play.

*Prince George.*

Here come I, Prince George,  
 From England I have sprung,  
 Some of those noble deeds and valour to begin,  
 And the same I will avow,  
 And if we don't get cash this night  
 We'll raise a blooming row.  
 English rights and Ireland a nation.  
 Here I draw my shining weapon.  
 Show me the man that dare me stand,  
 I'll cut him down with sword in hand.

*Turkish Champion.*

Yes, here I am, the man who dare you stand,  
 My courage is so great.  
 I fought lords, dukes, and earls,  
 And made their hearts to quake.

*Prince George.*

What are you but a poor silly lad.

<sup>3</sup> Matthews could not put a name to the first speaker.



*Turkish Champion.*

I am the Turkish Champion.  
From Turkey land I came  
To fight and cut and slash,  
As Prince George it is your name.  
To cut and fight and slash,  
And make man's poison of your bones,  
And after that beat any man in Christendom.

[Cross swords and fight.]

*Prince George.*

Doctor! doctor! Any doctor to be found  
To cure this man of his deep and mortal wound?

*Doctor.*

Yes, here comes a doctor  
Most pure and good,  
And with my broadsword  
I will staunch this man's blood.

*Prince George.*

What can you cure, Doctor?

*Doctor.*

I can cure the plague within and the plague without,  
The hurdy gurdy and the gout.  
Get me an old lady fourscore and ten,  
With the knucklebone of her big toe out,  
And I'll set in right again.

*Prince George.*

Where do you carry your medicine, Doctor?

*Doctor.*

I've a little bottle in the waistband of my pants  
Called hocus pocus pic and pin.  
Arise, dead man, and fight again.

*Turkish Champion.*

Aloft, aloft, where have I been?  
And oh! what strange and foreign lands I've seen!



I once was dead, but now I am alive :  
Blessed be the doctor who did me survive.  
And if you don't believe me and list to what I say,  
Enter in Prince Patrick and he'll show you play.

*Prince Patrick.*

Here come I, Prince Patrick,  
With my armour shining bright,  
A famous old champion  
And a worthy old knight.

*Prince George.*

What are you, Prince Patrick, but Prince George's stable boy.  
Who fed his horse with oats and hay,  
And after that you let him run away?

*Prince Patrick.*

That story's a lie, sir.

*Prince George.*

Draw forth your sword and try, sir.

*Prince Patrick.*

Pull out your purse and pay, sir.

*Prince George.*

I'll put my sword through you, and make you run away, sir.  
And if you don't believe me and give in to what I say,  
Enter in Oliver Cromwell and he'll show you play.

*Oliver Cromwell.*

Here come I, Oliver Cromwell,  
As you all may suppose,  
I have conquered many nations  
With my large copper nose.  
I've made the Spanish tremble,  
And Frenchmen for to quake,  
And beat the jolly Dutchman  
Coming home from the wake.  
And if you don't believe me and give in to what I say,  
Enter in Beelzebub and he'll show you play.



*Beelzebub.*

Here come I, Beelzebub,  
 And on my shoulder I carry my club,  
 And in my hand an old dripping pan,  
 And I prove myself a jolly old man.  
 And if you don't believe me and give in to what I say,  
 Enter in Bighead and he'll show you play.

*Bighead.*

Here come I that didn't come yet,  
 With my big head and my little wit;  
 My head is big and my wit is small,  
 I'll do my endeavour to please you all.  
 And if you don't believe me and give in to what I say,  
 Enter in Dilly Doubt and he'll show you play.

*Dilly Doubt.*

Here come I, Dilly Doubt,  
 With the tail of my shirt protruding out.  
 Money I want and money I crave,  
 But if you refuse, prepare for the grave.  
 And if you don't believe me and give in to what I say,  
 Enter in Johnnie Funny and he'll show you play.

*Johnnie Funny.*

Here come I, Johnnie Funny,  
 And in my hands I take the money;  
 The cellar is locked and we can't get in,  
 And we feel rather thirsty, so sing, boys, sing.

BRYAN JONES.

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 NOTES ON FOLK-LORE.

**Beesands, S. Devon.**—*Colour of Piskies.* In 1910 I said to a fisherman's daughter, who had been telling me about the piskies, "What colour are piskies?" "Why, they'm like you, in that green dress!" She said a green dress was an object of much criticism in the village. I was told that "if you wear green, you will soon after wear mourning."



*Jacketty War.* Some shepherds moving about with lights at lambing time were taken for "Jacketty War," the only name by which Will o' the Wisp was known to the fisherman's daughter who told me this in 1910.

**South Devon.**—*Nicknames.* "They do call us 'Beesands owls' and 'Chillington rooks,'" said a village woman at Beesands.

**Appledore, N. Devon.**—*An old tooth.* Little May Lamie, a fisherman's child, told me that she had just lost one of her teeth. She threw it over her shoulder and said, "Please God, send me a new tooth." (Aug. 1914.)

*Ghost at the river-side.* Some of the fisher people of this little town at the mouth of the Torridge believe that a ghost called "Jack o' the White Hat" is sometimes heard at night, shouting "Boat ahoy!" across the ferry. When the boatman goes across, no man is to be seen. I could not learn that it is looked upon as an omen of any coming disaster, or that it is heard at any particular times. (From farmer's daughter at Appledore.)

**Salisbury district, Wilts.**—*Unlucky to shoot a cuckoo.* There was a farmer who once shot a cuckoo. Ever after, he was always taken with some illness in cuckoo-time, and he eventually died at that season. Everyone said it was a judgment on him.

(From a postmistress formerly near Salisbury, now at Minchinhampton, Glos.)

**Sopworth, Wilts.**—*Taking photograph unlucky.* An old couple from Sopworth drove over to see some friends near Stroud. The master of the house wanted to take their photograph, in the cart, but they begged him not to think of such a thing, as their last horse died very soon after having his photograph taken. This was in 1910 or 1911.

(From the amateur photographer himself.)

**Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire.**—*Weather omen.* One day this October I made some remark to a gardener about the long-continued fine weather. "It's on account of the war," he said. "We always gets a spell of fine weather when there's a war on. Didn't you know that? It was just the same at the time of the Russian war—fine frosty days for weeks together."



*Horns on the head.* Two village women were walking together one Sunday in Oct. 1913, when a girl approached them, wearing two projecting wings on the back of her hat. "Ah!" said the elder of the two women, "that reminds me of the old saying—

'When a man's married he's always in dread  
Of a large pair of horns growing out of his head.'"

The saying was new to the younger woman, but she found that it was quite familiar to her mother.

(From daughter of a village mason here.)

**Sunderland, Co. Durham.**—*Death custom.* The room in which a dead body lies is draped all round with sheets. Many of the older houses have a glass fanlight over the front door, and this too is draped with a white cloth.

(Seen by me in 1903 and 1904, but fast dying out.)

**Carnarvonshire.**—*Land tenure.* There was an ancient pilgrim's way from Carnarvon to the holy Isle of Bardsey. It was marked by wells at several resting-places. One was the famous well of St. Bruno at Clynnog; another was at Llanaelhaearn; a third was St. Mary's well, Nevin. Somewhere on the hills between Nevin and Carnarvon there is a farm which used to be held free of tithe, on condition that a free meal should always be given to any person who asked for it as he journeyed along the road from Carnarvon.

(From Miss Williams Jones, doctor's daughter, Nevin, 1913.)

**Reeth, Swaledale, N. Yorkshire.**—*Ghost at bridges.* Late at night, "something" comes out of the middle arch of Reeth Bridge, goes along the road for about a mile, and disappears into the middle arch of Grinton Bridge. It never goes in the opposite direction, which would be against the stream. It will run alongside a cart, or cling on to the back. It has been seen as a big white cat with fiery eyes, or as the Devil with a chain. Mrs. Day knows two or three people who declare they have been followed by it.

**W. and N. Yorkshire.**—*Lightning.* The flickering sheet lightning, or "summer lightning," is said to make the corn grow ripe.

(Mrs. Day, Minchinhampton—native of Swaledale—and from a worker among the textile hands of the W. Riding.)



**Grinton, Swaledale, N. Yorkshire.**—*Ghost of a dog.* Near the Avenue gates, at Cogden Hall, Grinton, the ghost of half a dog—the head part only—used to be seen. (The Hall is not near the Church.)

(From Mrs. Day, Minchinhampton—  
native of Swaledale.)

**Marrick, Swaledale, N. Yorkshire.**—*Shadow as omen.* Near to Hag Cottage, Marrick, there is a place on the road where a shadow is cast by the wall when no sun is shining, or it is cast the wrong way of the sun. It is a sign that “something is going to happen.”

(From Mrs. Day, Minchinhampton, native of Swaledale.)

**Birmingham.**—*The fire as omen of disaster.* A friend of mine was recently visiting a house at which a suicide had just taken place. The charwoman, a native of Birmingham, said—“Anyone could have told that something dreadful was going to happen. There was such a queer fire in the grate a few days ago.” She described the fire as being hollow in the middle and dead at the edges. In her opinion, the general appearance of a fire always “meant something.”

(Told me by the visitor herself.)

**Bromsgrove, Worcestershire.**—*White horses in divination.* “Thirty years ago, girls used to count the white horses they met in the road; the first man met, after you had counted a hundred white horses, would be your future husband.” This was very commonly done among girls of my acquaintance.

**Redditch district, East Worcestershire.**—*Gifts.* When I was a small child, it was considered a most mean action to ask for a gift back. The taunt for a boy or girl who did such a thing was—

“Give a thing, take a thing,  
Naughty man’s plaything!”

The “naughty man” was, of course, the Devil.

*Snow rhyme.* When “the old woman was plucking her geese,” village children used to sing—

“Snow, snow faster,  
Come again at Easter.”

I have heard it myself when I was a child.

**Aloechurch, Worcestershire.**—*Spirit after death.* A child died at the baker’s house, *cir.* 1860. One of the neighbours had been



present in the sick-room, and after all was over she and the mother were sitting together in a downstairs room, when a slight noise was heard upstairs, rousing them both. The mother wanted to go up to the dead child, but the other restrained her. "You mown't [must not] go upstairs. It's Little Lucy. Yes, she's dead, ma'am, but *her spirit bain't gone yet*. We mown't disturb her."

(From the speaker herself, who died in 1904.)

J. B. PARTRIDGE.

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A FOLK-TALE FROM ASIA MINOR.

*The Story of the Wicked Sparrow.*

Told by W. Shanavonian, first Dragoman to the American Embassy, Constantinople.

There was or there was not a sparrow that went out for a walk. After he had gone up hill and down dale a thorn ran into his foot. Then he returned to town and went to the baker and begged him to take out the thorn. The baker graciously did so, and threw the thorn into his oven. But the sparrow after a time returned to the baker and said :

"Baker, I want my thorn back."

The baker replied :

"But I have thrown it into the oven!"

"Yes," said the sparrow, "but nevertheless I want it back, or let me have a loaf of bread instead ; my thorn or a loaf!"

And the sparrow used such language as children should never hear, and grown people should never repeat. The baker, in order to avoid any further trouble with the impudent sparrow, gave him the bread, with which he disappeared.

He went up hill and down dale until he came to a place where there was a flock of sheep and a number of shepherds who were just going to have their breakfast. But as the poor fellows had no bread they were throwing a quantity of earth into their milk. The sparrow asked them :

"Brother shepherds, why are you throwing earth into your milk?"



And they said, "Because we have no bread."

Then the sparrow said, "Here, take my bread, and may it be sweet unto you!"

The shepherds thanked him, took the bread, brought fresh milk and enjoyed their breakfast. Then the sparrow went away, up hill and down dale, but soon he returned to the shepherds and said:

"Brother shepherds, I want my bread back!"

"But," they said, "you gave us your bread and said, 'may it be sweet unto you,' and we thanked you for it and have enjoyed it with our breakfast. We have eaten it, how can we give it back to you?" Then the sparrow used such language as children should never hear, and grown people should never repeat. And he said:

"I want my bread or I'll take a lamb; my bread or a lamb!"

Then the shepherds in order to be rid of the troublesome sparrow gave him the lamb which he demanded. On he went, up hill and down dale, until he came to a village which he saw was in a great state of animation. The villagers were wearing their best dress as if it were a day in Bairam, or an Easter Sunday. When he heard the music and saw young people dancing and waving their handkerchiefs he understood that there was a wedding. As he approached he saw that near the bridegroom's house some butchers were on the point of slaying a huge shepherd dog. The sparrow asked them:

"Brother butchers, why do you slay that dog?" and they told him:

"As there are no sheep or cattle in this neighbourhood we had to slay this dog for the wedding feast." And he said to them:

"Take this lamb for the wedding feast, and may it be sweet unto you!"

While the sparrow went his way up hill and down dale, the lamb was nicely roasted and the guests enjoyed the feast. The wedding dinner was, however, hardly over when the sparrow came back and said, "I want my lamb!" "But," he was told, "kind sparrow, your lamb was roasted and enjoyed by the guests, so nothing of it remains. Wait for a few days and we will give you a better lamb. Now go away and leave us in peace."

The sparrow answered, "I will not go away, I will not leave you in peace, I want my own lamb and no other; and if you



cannot give me back my lamb I shall take the bride instead ; my lamb or the bride ! ”

The bride and bridegroom wept most bitterly, but their tears could not move the heart of the wicked sparrow. He insisted on having his lamb or the bride. Then the sparrow threatened them and used such language as children should never hear, and grown people never repeat, until the bridegroom’s family decided, in order to avoid any further difficulty with the sparrow, to give him the bride. And they did so.

The sparrow took the bride and went away, up hill and down dale, until one day he met a man riding on a donkey and singing gaily to the accompaniment of his tambourine. The sparrow stopped the man and said :

“ Friend, may you have prosperity ! I want your tambourine ! ”  
And the man answered :

“ My tambourine is too precious to be given away like that ! ”  
So the sparrow said :

“ Take this beautiful bride and give me the tambourine instead, ”  
and the man took the bride in exchange for the tambourine. Then the sparrow, with his newly acquired tambourine, went up hill and down dale until he came to the banks of a river where there were willow trees. And he flew to the topmost branch of a willow tree and playing his tambourine began to sing :

“ Oh ! what a clever bird am I !

I gave away the thorn and I took the bread,

I gave away the bread and I took the lamb,

I gave away the lamb and I took the bride,

I gave away the bride and I took this *beautiful* tambourine—

Oh, what a clever bird am I ! ”

And all of a sudden this wicked sparrow lost his balance, fell into the river and was seen no more.

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Three apples fell from heaven ; one for the story-teller ; one for him to whom you have just listened ; and one for him who has just spent his breath.

MARY MASON POYNTER.

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## OBITUARY.

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GIUSEPPE PITRÈ.

THE outward facts of Giuseppe Pitrè's life are soon told. He was seventeen when the great historical romance of the last century, the landing of Garibaldi at Marsala, brought new destinies to the "Isle of Fire." Pitrè took part in the revolution at Palermo which was crowned by the hero's entry, and he accompanied the deputation which went to Naples to present the Sicilian plebiscite to Victor Emmanuel. He had nothing more to do with politics till he was made a Senator in 1915. Politics, when not heroic, were not to his taste, but he did not shun the duties of a citizen in municipal affairs, in which his voice was always raised in favour of moral no less than of material progress; he was one of the first, for instance, to promote the Palermitan Society for the Protection of Animals. He had many opportunities of "arriving," as the phrase goes, especially after his devoted services during two cholera epidemics were rewarded by a medal, much to his surprise. But he chose a life of obscurity as a doctor in a poor quarter, giving his days to his profession, and his nights, or a great part of them, to his beloved studies.

One of the writers of the many biographical notices which have appeared in the Italian papers, said truly, "Pitrè became a folk-lorist as other people become great generals or saints—by vocation." Sprung from the acute and imaginative Sicilian people, acuteness and imagination joined to a "genius for taking pains" were the gifts which enabled him to accomplish his life's work. He succeeded in revealing the inmost soul of his race, not by a process of cold analysis, but by that other process which is summed up in the French proverb: "*Aimer c'est comprendre.*" Severely critical in detecting the least trace of artificial manipulation in the material which came into his hands, he held that nothing that was genuine could be dismissed as unimportant; if you followed it to its roots, it contributed somehow to building



the fabric, as varied, as eloquent, as one of those wonderful Sicilian churches where every stone speaks of history. In Pitrè's twenty-five volumes of Sicilian folklore the soul of Sicily will live for ever. The *Archivio delle Tradizioni Popolari* which he edited with his friend Salomone Marino (who died a few days before his own death) became the pivot of folklore researches all over Italy, and may be said to have prevented them from dying out after the first enthusiasm aroused by the works of Tigri, Nigra, and other pioneers. Its publication was continued for thirty years in the face of all sorts of difficulties. Pitrè could not have done what he did for Sicilian folklore without a knowledge of the whole subject, which astonished even Professor Child, who was one of his warmest admirers. Added to this, he had great stores of general erudition acquired one hardly knows how, for he lived far away from museums and libraries, but he was helped by two things which, especially the last, are too often absent: a strong memory and a mental habit of scientific accuracy. What was most essential of all to his work, was his familiarity with every byway, every hidden corner in Sicilian history, every germ which went to form the people in whom the original stock was mixed with such extraordinarily various elements, Greek and Arab, Norman and French and Spanish, all of which left their traces in the bodies and minds, the passions and instincts of the Sicilian race—and in its folklore.

For a long while, though appreciated abroad, Pitrè was far from being a prophet in his own country. His fellow-citizens regarded him, if I am not mistaken, as slightly mad. Why, after a hard day's work in going his rounds among his patients, should he sit up half the night in writing down and setting in order those "childish things?" Why half ruin himself to get them printed? In Pitrè's case the gains of a doctor, that are not large at Palermo, were made the smaller by his refusal to take fees from those who could ill afford to give them. But whether mad or sane, the people of Palermo always loved him. It was the love that is never denied to him that loves. Of love Pitrè gave large draughts to his people, and in return they opened their inmost soul to him. He had an actual effluence of goodness. He could not bring himself to do what his conscience did not approve: thus, in spite of the exhortations of some eminent German professors, he would



never allow the publication of a collection he had made for scholars of the undesirable part of popular traditions as it exists in the folklore of his native island. For this volume, and for this alone, he was offered a good sum of money, but in vain.

In the end his people discovered that they had a great man among them, and when honours were heaped on him in the last few years of his life, they were as much delighted as if they had been done to each of them severally. Those fortunate individuals who, like myself, many years before, had him for guide to the inexhaustible points of interest at Palermo, felt as if they were driving about with a royal personage, so universal was the salutation that greeted him.\* He witnessed the creation of a Chair of Demo-Psychology (as he preferred to call folklore) at the University of Palermo, of which he was, of course, appointed the first Professor. Thus the Science of Popular Traditions received academical recognition for the first time. It was the consecration of Pitrè's labours. His other great desire, the constitution of an Ethnological Museum, was realised not long before he died. As previously stated, he was made a Senator in 1915, and on his visit to Rome to take his seat, everyone fêted him. Unhappily, his last years were clouded by losses which, with his affectionate disposition, he never got over: his only son, a promising young doctor, died from blood-poisoning, and his younger daughter perished with her new-born infant only a year after her marriage, in the Messina earthquake. I remember her as a beautiful child when I first knew Pitrè at Palermo in 1888. The blow almost overpowered him; he shut himself up in the little room she had occupied as a young girl, and remained for months prostrate with grief. At last he had the idea of privately printing as a memorial to her a little collection of tender and sweet swallow legends made by herself. This touching booklet he sent to a few friends, and I think the preparation of it was what brought him back to his own work, which he pursued till the day of his death without resting, though never with the old joy.

It is greatly to be wished that his surviving daughter, Signora Maria d'Alia Pitrè, who inherits much of his literary gift, would write his life. No one could do it so well.

EVELYN MARTINENGO CESARESCO.



## REVIEWS.

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THE TRIBES AND CASTES OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES OF INDIA.  
By R. V. RUSSELL, I.C.S., Superintendent of Ethnography,  
Central Provinces, assisted by RAJ BAHADUR HIRA LĀL,  
Extra-Assistant Commissioner. 4 vols. London : Macmillan  
and Co. Ltd., 1916. 42s.

THIS work, "published under the orders of the Central Provinces Administration," has been issued since the author's lamented death. He was one of the victims of the German submarine that sank the *Persia* in the Mediterranean Sea, on her voyage to India a few months ago. The book is in continuation of the series on the tribes and castes of the various provinces of the Indian Empire, begun so brilliantly by the late Sir H. H. Risley and Mr. Crooke. Mr. Russell has worthily carried on their labours. If he has indulged in speculations, at times somewhat risky, such as Mr. Crooke's characteristic caution withheld him from, he has at other times opened glimpses that promise explanations of customs otherwise mysterious and even grotesque. He freely uses the writings of previous investigators of the history and relations of the various tribes and castes represented in the Central Provinces, always punctiliously and properly citing his authorities. This adds to the value of the book as a work of reference. The assistance rendered to him by various officials, native and European, is also acknowledged at the head of every section.

The object of the series of books on the tribes and castes of the various provinces is not merely scientific, valuable as it is for that purpose. We are reminded in the Preface that it "is intended primarily as a work of reference for the officers of Government, who may desire to know something of the customs



of the people among whom their work lies." It is a recognition of the truth long contended for by anthropologists, that a people cannot be properly governed by rulers who do not understand them and their history, and therefore are destitute of the sympathy that constitutes one of the most efficient instruments of government.

Apart from physical anthropology, in dealing with India the most prominent phenomenon is that of the great number of different castes, each of them forming a society, some smaller, some larger, divided from all the others by a seemingly impassable barrier, and continually tending to increase. Accordingly a large part of the first volume is dedicated to an introductory essay of nearly two hundred pages, devoted to a general consideration of caste, the relation of the caste to the non-Aryan tribe, and the social and religious usages of various tribes and castes. The tests of caste and the different theories of caste are discussed. In dealing with this subject most of the modern works are cited and the theories of the writers considered, though the important *Remarques sur le Régime des Castes*, by M. Bouglé, which appeared in *L'Année Sociologique*, vol. iv. 1901, have been somehow overlooked. The writer shows, and constant examples in the subsequent volumes prove, that, caste-iron as the divisions between these various bodies and the prohibitions regulating their intercourse may seem, in reality the appearance is deceptive. There is a slow but restless movement. For some cause or other prohibitions are modified, castes rise or fall in the social scale; they throw off sub-castes, thus multiplying their number; they change their names, their customs, their occupations; they cease to exist; non-Aryan tribes by conforming to Hinduism are taken into the system as new castes. In short, even in the ancient and steadfast East, society being a living organism must adapt itself to the changing environment. The process has been accelerated by the advent of British rule. The occupations of many castes have been entirely changed. Fighters and plunderers have become peaceful agriculturists. Weavers have ceased to weave and turned to other employments. Numbers of despised castes have attended Government schools, acquired education, become Government servants, and thereby assisted to raise the



status of their castes. The increased facility of communications has brought castes to rub shoulders together, resulting in the relaxation of caste rules, and has modified the relations between them. In these and a hundred other ways changes are going on and becoming ever more rapid ; though they necessarily take the mould of the prevailing organization, and it will be generations before the spirit of caste is extinguished, if it be not inherent in humanity.

A point to which Mr. Russell recurs again and again throughout the volumes is that of the religious influence of the conquered and degraded aboriginal tribes. This is exhibited not merely despite the caste system. It extends beyond the caste system (which is a Hindu—that is to say, an Aryan—organization built upon conquest) to the descendants of the earlier inhabitants, among whom it seems to have existed before the entrance of the Aryans into India. Thus the Gonds and other Dravidian tribes employ Baigas, Bhuiyas, and other Munda tribes for their village priests, “which is an acknowledgment that the latter as the earlier residents have a more familiar acquaintance with the local deities, and can solicit their favour and protection with more prospect of success.” The Mahārs are an impure caste of menials, labourers, and village watchmen of the Marātha country. They were, it seems clear, the oldest residents of the plain country of Berār and Nāgpur. This is implied, in fact, in their position in Berār as referees on village boundaries and customs. At the Holi or Spring festival the Mahārs’ fire is kindled before any others. They have functions at weddings of other castes, including in Bhandāra the duty of fixing the dates for them. When the Panwār Rajputs of Bhandāra celebrate the festival of Nārāyan Deo (a form of Vishnu) they call a Mahār, impure as he is, “to their house and make him the first partaker of the feast before beginning to eat themselves.” More than that, the bunch of peacocks’ feathers which does duty for an image of Nārāyan Deo is generally kept in the house of a Mahār, and is brought thence in a gourd to the Panwār’s house to be worshipped. Though he sings and dances during the offering, which consists of a black goat, rice and cakes, and begins the feast upon the sacrificial animal, on ordinary occasions the Mahār is not allowed inside the house, and any Panwār who took food with him would be put out of caste.” The



feeling expressed in rites and practices of this kind is the same as that of the settlers brought by the Assyrian king into the cities of Samaria, when they suffered from an invasion of lions, which seem to have done some execution among them, "because they knew not the manner of the god of the land." It is common in India, and operates for the benefit of the descendants of several aboriginal tribes.

Mr. Russell has by no means considered that his task was limited to a description of the various tribes and castes represented in the Central Provinces, to summaries of their own accounts of their origin and history, and the reproduction of the results of modern enquiries on these subjects. He has endeavoured to explain the origin and meaning of their institutions and customs. In so doing he has added much interest to his work. It may be hoped that many of the officials, for whose reading the book is in the first instance intended, will be stimulated to anthropological study and enquiry. But it must never be forgotten that of the explanations here given not a few are pure conjecture, or are founded on biased, insufficient or inaccurate evidence. They must not be allowed to prejudice the collection of further information, though it may run counter to the received theories. True devotion to science commands an allegiance more urgent and imperious than that to any theory or any teacher, however venerable. What we need just now on the part of officials, missionaries, traders, and others who are in contact with native races, in all parts of the world, is the accurate collection of facts unembarrassed by any theories. Every fact, however small or apparently unimportant, should be garnered, for no one can tell of what value it may turn out to be in investigating the history of a people, the provenience of its arts and customs or their interpretation. The interpretation may be left to others hereafter. This is not intended to imply blame to Mr. Russell. On the contrary, for reasons given above, I think we should be grateful for his explanations as well as the facts he has collected. But I do desire to emphasize the opinion that facts are at this stage of vastly more importance than theories suggested to explain them.

Attention is drawn in the course of the Introductory Essay to a number of interesting facts. One of these is the remains of a two-



class exogamic system among the Gonds. In one part of Bastar these classes have no names; but in spite of this they appear perfectly well known to the people. Elsewhere the classes are distinguished by the number of gods worshipped: one class worship six, and the other seven. In either case a man was obliged to take his wife from the other class. Formerly, however, in some places at least, the Gonds seem to have been divided into seven exogamic groups, each worshipping a different number of gods, from one to seven. The gods are a miscellaneous assortment. Formerly, we are told, "the original gods were, with the exception of Ghangra, hunting-weapons and representations of animals," by which, I presume, are meant the idols, or outward and visible forms of the gods. How far these were identified with the gods themselves does not seem clear. Ghangra is of bell-metal and in the form of a bell, such as is put round the neck of a bullock. The gods, or idols, are in fact of various forms: Chāwar is a cow's tail (also used as a whisk); Pālo, a piece of cloth used to cover spear-heads; Holera is represented by a bullock's bell of wood. The village gods consist as usual of stones or mud platforms under the shade of some appropriate tree, and so on.

Many of the tribes and of the castes (the castes are often transformed tribes or portions of tribes of non-Aryan descent received into the Hindu system) are divided into groups distinguished by the names of animals or other objects of nature. Mr. Russell is inclined to see in all these totemism, or its remains. In some cases his opinion is supported not merely by the groups being exogamic, but by the reverential observances they pay to the objects after which they are named. In other cases both exogamy and reverence are wanting. Further enquiry is needed on this subject. The author is strongly convinced of the correctness of Dr. Haddon's theory of totemism, to which he returns more than once, saying that "the relationship of the totem could only have arisen from the fact that they ate it."

He adheres to "Dr. Westermarck's view, that the origin of exogamy lay in the aversion on the part of individuals to union with others with whom they lived"—an opinion by no means proved. A number of examples are scattered up and down the volumes of the formation of new exogamous groups by fission—



—undoubtedly a *vera causa*. In dealing with the Gonds he records that marriage is not prohibited between grandparents and grandchildren, and that a grandson would not hesitate to marry the youthful widow of a grandfather. It would be interesting to know whether there is any trace of the relationships thus formed in the kinship terms, as according to Dr. Rivers' theory there should be. He discovers traces of female descent in a number of tribes, though nearly if not quite all the tribes in this part of India follow male descent; and for this purpose he prays in aid the practice of cross-cousin marriage, on the meaning of which Dr. Rivers has thrown some doubt.

It will be seen from these few examples what a wealth of interest there is in the volumes, and how many more or less controversial points arise upon them. The number of tribes and castes represented in the Central Provinces, where north and south seem to meet, is very large, and the diversity of custom correspondingly great. The problems raised are consequently very complicated, and a wide field not yet fully explored is offered for anthropological research. Transmission of culture has been proceeding for ages from the Aryan to the non-Aryan populations; and on the other hand the Aryan population has received not a little—and not always to its advantage—from the indigenous tribes. There is evidently still much to be done in elucidating the history and details of these interchanges.

The work is illustrated throughout from useful photographs of scenes, costume, and customs, some of them very good, also two coloured plates, and three maps. Like its fellows in the series it will long remain an authority; and it will remain a monument of the learning, industry and scientific enthusiasm of a hard-worked Indian official, too early lost to his country and to the world at large.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

IRISH WITCHCRAFT AND DEMONOLOGY. By ST. JOHN D. SEYMOUR, B.D. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., 104 Grafton Street. London: Humphrey Milford, Amen Corner, E.C. 5s. net.

THAT witchcraft in Ireland has been altogether ignored "is, in general, the attitude adopted by writers on the subject," states the author in his introductory chapter (p. 2) to what he claims is "an



unwritten chapter in Irish history." And the fact that it has been so is not without a definite influence upon the country. Propagation of the witch mania was curtailed, was, in fact, largely non-existent (p. 10) owing to the "total absence of literature on the subject," until the last century, with the exception of a pamphlet in 1699 (p. 11). In this small volume the author has collected the records of Irish cases, and proved that Ireland, while still enjoying "comparative freedom" (p. 6), was not exempt from the universal witch-cult, though it affected the island only partially. The reason it was partial is the crux of all the troubles that have ever been termed "the Irish question"—"the country has been divided into two opposing elements, the Celtic and the English" (p. 3), since the Norman "conquest." "The Celtic element had its own superstitious beliefs, but these never developed in this direction" (p. 4)—witchcraft. To the divergence of race was added that isolation from the centres of civilised activities which resulted in a semi-independence of ecclesiastical organisation and literature (p. 7). "Ireland a nation" may be a good political catchword, but is to the scientist an absolute mis-statement. Politics have been identified with and embittered racial and religious antagonisms, and the rift has affected the folklore as well as the social life of the people. After a chronological survey of "cases," from Dame Alice Kyteler, the Sorceress of Kilkenny in 1324 (chap. ii.), the final chapter touches on twentieth-century "witches," cattle-and-milk magic, and modern "white witchcraft"—much of this is quoted from *Folk-lore*. Though, the author concludes, "the witch of history is gone, and can never be rehabilitated . . . Scattered throughout the length and breadth of the land there are to be found persons whom the country-folk credit with the power of performing various extraordinary actions. *From what source* they derive this power is not clear—probably neither they themselves nor their devotees have ever set themselves the task of unravelling that psychological problem" (page 243). One may not entirely agree with all the conclusions reached, but the book is a welcome and carefully compiled addition to the too scanty literature that deals with Irish folklore apart from fairy lore and folk-tales.

D. H. MOUTRAY READ.



ULSTER FOLKLORE. By ELIZABETH ANDREWS. Elliot Stock.  
5s. net.

THE book is a collection of papers, and the comprehensive title is very misleading. There are a few Harvest customs given in Chapter II., with very good illustrations of harvest knots and rush crosses. Unfortunately Miss Andrews set out to find facts that would fit certain theories that appealed to her fancy, which is not the right way to start either the study or collection of folklore. There is a great deal of unnecessary repetition and extraneous matter in the book, and had Miss Andrews attended to her own dictum—"The pressing need is not to interpret but to collect these old tales," she would have made a better book. It is to be regretted that frequently details are not given instead of the author's theories—for instance, on pp. 19 and 81, where there is reference to things heard but untold. An Ulsterman, to whom the book was lent, summed it up with, "It's true—*what there is of it.*"

D. H. MOUTRAY READ.

OLD LONDON'S SPAS, BATHS, AND WELLS. By SEPTIMUS SUNDERLAND, M.D. John Bale, Sons & Danielsson, Ltd. 1915.  
8vo. Pp. xii + 170. 36 illustrations.

WE have here an account of the holy wells of London, the principal drinking wells, the olden baths, the medicinal wells and springs, and finally of those springs and wells which attained sufficient notoriety and importance to be denominated "spas." The folklore contained in the work is confined to the chapter on Holy Wells, pp. 11-26, which gives particulars of no less than twenty-three such wells situated in and near London. One regrets to have to add that the evidence as to the "holiness" of these wells is often slight, and the information meagre; but the book as a whole is a useful addition to the history and topography of Old London. It is carefully and methodically compiled, and incidentally throws light on the social life of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The interesting and well-chosen illustrations, most of them copies of old prints, greatly contribute to this end.

C. S. BURNE.



## RECENT WORK IN SLAVONIC FOLKLORE.

*Národopisný Věstník Českoslovanský.*

Year 6. Nos. 7 and 8. August and September, 1911.

TVRDÝ (J.), The Pottery Ware of Wischau and its Development. Part IV.

1. ČERNÍK (J.), From Alt-Hrosinkau Diggings.

## REVIEWS :

2. Franko (I.), Studies on Ukrainian National Songs.
3. Bugiel (W.), Literary Studies and Sketches.
- Forke (A.), Indian Fairy Tales and their Importance for the Comparative Study of Fairy Tales.
4. Leyen (Friedrich von), The Fairy Tale.
- Ranke (F.), The Saviour in the Cradle. A Study of a German Legend.
- Frobenius (L.), A Black Decameron.
- A Notice of Middle School Programmes.
- Small Folklore Reports.* Reports on Folklore Museums and Societies.
- KUBÍN (J.), Tales from Kladno (Glatz). With a commentary by J. Polívka. Part 2.

Nos. 9, 10. November, December, 1911.

1. ČERNÍK (J.), Part of Article in Nos. 7, 8 ; concluding.
5. BUŤKOVÁ-WANKLOVÁ (K.), and POLÍVKA (J.), Mourn not the Dead.

## REVIEWS :

Vlach (J.), Ethnography of all Parts of the World.  
Talko-Hryniewicz (J.), Attempt at a Physical Characterization of the old East Slavs.—Schwela (J.), Manual of the Lower Lusatian Language.—Böklen (E.), Studies on "Snow-White."—Kubín's Kladno-tales, *continued*.

Year 7. No. 1. January, 1912.

6. HORÁK (J.), Erben's Collection of Bohemian Popular Songs.

## REVIEWS :

Ivanovsky (A. A.), Citizens of the World.  
Anthropologico - Archaeological and Ethnographical Materials. XI.



Strejček (F.), A Selection from the Bohemian Popular Epic.  
 Gennep (A. van), Popular Legends and Heroic Songs from  
 Savoy.

SUPPLEMENT : Kubín as before.

Nos. 2, 3. February, March, 1912.

7. Bíbová (R.), Is it possible to regard tape-making and knitting as the first form of lace-making on a pillow, and can we attribute to the Slavonic plaiters the discovery of a technique?

MORAVEC (B.), The Grease Box [in vehicles].

REVIEWS :

Zollschau (J.), The Problem of Races, with special reference to the Jewish Racial Question.

8. Mladenov (S.), Old Germanic Elements in the Slavonic Languages.

Bárta-Zahradecký (J.), The German "Island" of Brünn.

Pekař (J.), The Book of Kost.

9. Peasant Art in Austria and Hungary.

Strejček (F.), A Selection from Popular Bohemian Lyrics.

10. The latest publications about the Kaszubs.  
 New Slavonic Periodicals.

SUPPLEMENT : Kubín as usual.

No. 4. April, 1912.

11. { VYKOUKAL (F. V.), The Gifts of God.  
 { ROZUM (K.), The Gifts of God for Palm Sunday.

REVIEWS :

Heimfelsen (J.), German Settlements in Bosnia.—Theilhaber (F. A.), The Fall of the German Jews.—The Dawn in Silesia.—Hnatjuk (V.), Ethnographical Materials on the Ruthenians of Hungary.—Truhelka (Ć.), Albanian Fairy Tales.—Panzer (F.), The German Popular Song of the Present Time.—Pohl (J.), The Black or Pitched Book of the Free Royal City of Rokycany.

SUPPLEMENTS : (1) Kubín as before.

(2) Annual Report of the Society of the Bohemian Ethnographical Museum for 1911.



Nos. 5, 6. May, June, 1912.

12. NIEDERLE (L.), The Old Village House in the Moravian "Slovakie."

BOHÁČ (A.), Changes in the Linguistic Character of Hungarian Communes.

REVIEWS:

Horák (J.), The latest Bohemian Ethnographical Publications.

SUPPLEMENT: Kubín as before.

Nos. 7, 8. August, September, 1912.

13. WOLLMAN (F.), The Tale of the White Lady in the Literature and Traditions of the Bohemian People. I., II.

REVIEWS:

Rhamm (K.), Germanic Antiquities from the "Urheimat" of the Slavs and Finns.—Weinreich (O.), The Deceit of Nectarebo.—Huber (M.), The Legend of the Seven Sleepers.—Sartori (P.), Manners and Customs.

SUPPLEMENT: Kubín as before.

Nos. 9, 10. November, December, 1912.

13. WOLLMAN (F.), The White Lady. III.

HAVELKOVÁ (V.), The Ancient Rights of the Judges and their "Ferules."

REVIEWS:

Zawiliński (R.), On the Boundaries of the Polish People. Impressions of a Traveller.—Černý (A.), Lusatia and the Lusatian Serbs. Schwela (G.), Typical Figures in Lusatian Popular Songs.—Wesselski (A.), Die Schwänke und Schnurren des Pfarrers Arlotto. Der Hodscha Nasr-eddin. F.F. Communications. Edited for the Folklore Fellowship, etc.

SUPPLEMENT: Kubín as usual.

Year 8. No. 1. January, 1913.

14. HORÁK (J.), The Reminiscences of F. J. Vavák.

REVIEWS:

Koloušek (J.), The Problem of Fertility.—Janko (J.), On Slavonic Prehistory.—Collection in honour of Professor Miletich.

SUPPLEMENT: Kubín as usual.



Nos. 2, 3. February, March, 1913.

BOHÁČ (A.), Studies in Demography.

VESELÝ (J.), From the Dictionary (Wordlore) of the Wooden Acting Company of Maizner's Marionette Dynasty.

REVIEWS :

Florinsky (T. D.), Ethnographical Map of Western Slavdom and Western Russia.

Niederle (L.), Slavonic Antiquities.—Anthropologico-archaeological and Ethnographical Materials published by the Commission of the Academy of Sciences at Cracow.

Smirnov (A. M.), The Present State of the Russian National Fairy Tale.

Svoboda (E.), Statistics of the Slovak Country.

SUPPLEMENT : Kubín as usual.

No. 4. April, 1913.

TYKAČ (J.), The Potters of Česká Třebová.

REVIEWS :

Murko (M.), The Grave as a Table.

Notes on the Review of Koloušek's Problem of Fertility.

Nos. 5, 6. May, June, 1913.

15. HORÁK (J.), Minor Ethnographical Contributions.

13. SALABA (J.), The Tale of the White Lady in the Literature and Traditions of the Bohemian People.

REVIEWS :

Horák (J.), Ethnographical Studies in our Provincial Periodicals.—Lud, XVII.—Saintyves (P.), Les Reliques et les images légendaires.—Siuts (H.), Jenseitsmotive in deutschen Volksmärchen.—Leyen (F. von der) and Zaunert (P.), Die Märchen der Weltliteratur.

SUPPLEMENT : Kubín as usual.

Nos. 7, 8. August, September, 1913.

TVRDÝ (J.), Popular Majolica at Ždánice.

BOHÁČ (A.), Studies in Demography.

13. WOLLMAN (F.), The Tale of the White Lady in the Literature and Traditions of the Bohemian People.



## REVIEWS :

Löwis (A. von), *of Menar*. Der Held im deutschen und russischen Märchen.—Maeterlinck (L.), Les Péchés primitifs.—Rocznik polskiego Towarzystwa krajoznawczego.

SUPPLEMENT : Kubín as usual.

Nos. 9, 10. November, December, 1914.

POLEDNE (F.), Bohemian Children's Popular Counting-out Rhymes and their Analogies in the Traditions of the Germans and Poles.

ČERNÍK (J.). Hosasisa.

## REVIEWS :

Sébillot (P.), Le Folklore.—Pomorze Kaszubskie ; Zeszyt monograficzny "Ziemi."—Materiyali do Ukrainsky etnologii. X.

SUPPLEMENT : Kubín as usual.

Year 9. No. 1. January, 1914.

BOHÁČ (A.), Studies in Demography.

## REVIEWS :

Abt (A.), Die volkskundliche Literatur des Jahres 1911.—Sochineniya Mikhaila Dmitrievicha Chulkova.—Pyesni Russkikh Sektantov Mistikov.

SUPPLEMENT : Kubín as usual.—End of Text, with Bibliography.

[*More detailed Notes on above.*]

1. This is supplementary to a work by Černík on the songs of the Moravian miners generally. He gives specimens to illustrate the special characteristics of the several classes of miners. The Slovaks of Žitkova have a special relation to nature and their fellow-citizens, and their songs show the intimacy of the former, and are in form and character such as to recall the *chastushki* of the Russian factory hands. There is a musical analysis also. This folk music has the right to appear in the concert rooms.

2. This review deals especially with the tale of the gnat who died of a fall from an oak and was magnificently buried, supplying further variants in their Slavonic literatures, e.g. Bohemian and



Slovene. The rest of the review is devoted to Dr. Franko's collection of songs about Chmelnicki, pointing out the extraordinary variety of relations of Cossackdom with the world around, and the complexity of its developments.

3. The most important essay is a revision of an article of 1893 in *Wisła* on what the author has called "metabiose," the belief that the soul was bound to stay in some part of the body after death, or at least in contact with it. The subject is based upon certain incidents in Słowacki's poem, *Balladyna*. Dr. Bugiel entirely denies that metempsychosis is in question here.

4. Reviewed at length for its other qualities and also because of its bearing on the Slavonic fairy tales. His main point is that the popular tale comes from the artistic (artificial) originally. Cf. Countess Martinengo Cesaresco on the *Study of Folk Songs*.

5. A mother lost her child and wept and wept and wept, day and night, until her tears filled the well and overflowed. But she never ceased to weep. On a time her child appeared to her in a white shirt. It smiled, it shone, but it had a blood-red wound on its head, from which blood dripped constantly. The mother rejoiced to see her child, but was terrified at the wound, and asked who had given it. "Ah! mamma, do not weep for me. This wound I have because you weep so much for me. The more you weep, the more the blood will drip from the wound." The child then disappeared and the mother stopped. Already she no longer wept so much and the well did not overflow. And again her child appeared to her. The wound on the little head was already smaller, but the child pointed to it and disappeared. Then the mother ceased to weep altogether and the well dried up. Only she prayed for her dead child. And the child appeared a third time and said: "Now I am happy with God." On the head there was no wound, and the child smiled blessedly. On this the mother was full of joy.

There follows a series of variants. The story, though not a common one, is found at great distances apart. The continuation by Dr. Polívka shows the extreme antiquity of the idea, and that it is in medieval literature, e.g. in *Magnum Speculum Exemplorum*, in whose Russian version it appears (P. V. Vladimirov).



It is traced back step by step to very early times (Helmold, *Chronicle of the Slavs*). There follow still more variants from Germany, France, Brittany, etc. The most ancient religions in their records (Greek, Persian, Zend-Avesta, etc.) show the same idea.

6. A careful general analysis of the first three editions of Erben's *Collection of Bohemian Folk Songs*, in which also the extraordinary period in which it was brought out is well illustrated, and the sane handling of a matter too often spoilt by dilettantism is shown well. A warning is given against the text by Hynek—the alleged corrected edition.

Perhaps I had better refer to the allusion on p. 22 to *Folklore*, xxii. 382, where, while agreeing with my friend Malinowski about the desirability of the comparative study of the folklore material of Bohemia and Poland, he justly objects to the ridiculous description of Bohemia (which I can hardly believe he wrote) as forming "an ethnical island among German-speaking peoples." Well may the editor say, "If a Pole writes so, what are we to expect of an English reader?"

7. This is by way of a reply to a criticism in the *Zeitschr. für österreich. Volkskunde*, xvi. 160 sq., by Herr J. Blau aus Freihöls of a work called *Laces and Lace-making of the Slavonic People*, by the late M. A. Smolková and R. Bíbová. The blankly uncritical attitude of Herr Blau, who simply states that no Slav could be in so high a state of culture as to invent the lace-making process, is illustrated first, while R. Bíbová welcomes any nation's offering of evidence on this complex question. Sewn lace was a Greek invention, introduced into Italy in the twelfth century; the pillow lace is not claimed by any one. R. Bíbová claims it for an invention of the Slavs. A contrast is shown between the West European lace-maker with her drawn patterns to follow and her Slav sister, who works entirely by memory and manipulates the bobbins so wonderfully. It does not follow that it is wrong to consider the Slavonic as the original form and the West European form as the development. Their theory is that lace-making arose from weaving, but Herr Blau muddles things up so that one is bound to see the partisan character of his work. She states the ground of her belief on technical lines and proceeds with a



detailed reply to single points in Herr Blau's paper. The Čech lace-makers sometimes used Western, sometimes Slavonic methods.

8. This makes a rather severe attack on the Peisker school of theorists, who endeavour to derive all the words of the Slavonic languages dealing with "Kultur" from Germanic, and reduces the list to twenty-two! Some of these actually came through Latin (*král*, *korol*, from *Carolus* and so from *Karl*, I notice among them). As the reviewer points out, he goes rather too far at times, and words like *duma* must be recognized as Teutonic. This does not in the least preclude the reviewer from recommending the book and approving its thesis that the borrowings, even if they were much more extensive than the wildest claims made, would not prove the superiority of Germanic culture.

I might add that the borrowing of the English word *Company* by an African tribe for the purpose of rendering the concept "swindle, cheat," does not make me very proud or elated.

9. A long Review of the Studio Monographs on Peasant Art in Austria. Naturally certain painful inaccuracies in Part I. are pointed out, due to the unavoidable use by its authoress of German sources.

In arranging the pictures great mistakes are reported, and the unfortunate use of artificial (and little understood) political boundaries is noted. Bohemia is badly represented and robbed of many of its own products. Galicia is nothing like as well represented as it should be; only one type of its varied architecture is given.

The Hungarian part is inaccurate in that it attributes everything to the Magyars, regardless of its true racial origin and of its connection with the Cisleithan provinces. It might have been as good as their *Peasant Art in Sweden, Lapland and Iceland*, 1910.

10. First a summary of the contents of the Kaszub number of *Ziemia*, then an account of a book by a Germanized Kaszub (Ernst Seefried-Gulgowski), with a preface by Professor Sohnrey, whose studies in Kaszub folklore brought him into trouble with the Ostmarkenverein. It is given a very detailed notice, but as in German needs no further summary here. The same author wrote a book, *Kaschubische Hausindustrie*, which is noticed here also. His wife, a noted artist, Th. Gulgowski-Fethke, started a revival



of the local hand-industries and an industrial museum, under the influence of Dr. Sohnrey and of the Swedish models. The reviewer points out in the course of his remarks that the poems of Wos Budzysz, the Kaszub pseudonymous poet, and the designs of the peasant art-industries show very close analogies to those of Bohemia, and in any case deserve a place of their own in the Slavonic world. The whole population is now provided with a house-industry for the winter, all handed down by actual tradition and enlivened and helped by the Museum. The reviewer is the phonetist Frinta, a Bohemian, who had studied the Kaszubs and Slovintzes in their own country.

11. *Bozi dar* = the Gift of God, is a name for bread, in general, but the diminutive here, when not applied (a rare practice) to human beings, implies special bakings of cakes or the like for the great seasons, the solstices, the coming of (or invitation to) spring, now become the Church ales, weddings, christenings and the like. These are connected with practices like the "dziady" of Lithuania and Poland and other customs of making offerings to the dead. The pagan origin and the peculiar Slavonic form of these customs, as to which Vykoukal says that the Honák woman "makes poetry in pastry," is shown and suggested, while the ritual character of these practices is proved by the fixture of certain patterns to certain festivals and the like. A detailed illustration is afforded, with excellent pictures, by the second article, on those cakes made for Palm Sunday, by Rozum.

12. The houses described are in Veletiny, Moravia, and a ground-plan of each type is given besides views of the outside and inside. The author refers to the second volume of his work, *The Life of the Ancient Slavs*, for evidence against the assertions of the German investigators, who describe it as the "Frankish" or "Upper German" type, and say that this has utterly superseded the original Slavonic type. To those who wish to study the article, the following glossary will give the minimum necessary to the understanding of the plans and sketches. Jizba = house-place, in old English phrase, or room. This is the living room, with a stove and oven in the corner communicating with the other room. Pec = oven. A = and. Kamny = store. Ohnistě = fire-place or hearth. Siň = hall, entrance-hall. Komora (from Lat.



camera) = store-room (clothes, food, seeds, etc., are kept here). Kolňa = shed, outhouse. Stodola = barn. Humno = threshing-floor or barn (back)-yard. Sklep = cellar. Chlévy = stables. Nasyp = a raised walk. Prujezd = entrance-gateway to yard; sometimes called Kolňa, because it is used to store carts in. Z kuchine = from the kitchen. Hnojiště = dunghill. Gánek, presumably from German *gang*, entrance. In plate 8 the little step for the children to climb to the top of the stove by. Silnice = high road. Dvěř = door. Čelusna = mouth of an oven. Pekelca = oven. Kuchyňské nářadí = cooking apparatus. Navši = village green.

13. The "White Lady" in Bohemia.

I. In Bohemian Literature. 1. Belles-Lettres. Much of the "popular" tradition is merely literary invention, and has to be distinguished from the real traditional material, especially as the literature has really influenced the genuine popular tradition. *The Beautiful Olivia, or the Terror in the White Tower: a true tale of the Thirteenth Century. Translated into Bohemian from Procopius the Hoary.* Prague, 1798 (reprints 1844, 1858). This is the first popular booklet. The original—not as in Procopius—is in Spiess's *Biographien der Selbstmörder*, 1785. Variants of this German story from Bohemia are in Th. Vernaleken, *Mythen u. Bräuche d. Volkes in Oesterreich*, Wien, 1859, p. 123, and J. V. Grohmann, *Sagen aus Böhmen*, Prag, 1863, p. 59 (=L. Laistner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*, Berlin, 1889, v. p. 232 n.). On December 1, 1844, the State Theatre gave *The White Lady of Neuhaus, or the Sinner a Protector after Death*. The German original in four acts was by F. Feslitz; the translation was by Jan Kaska.

In 1845 K. Vetterll published at Prague *The White Lady, or the Sweet Pap: an original National Farce in One Act by Hanna Lykiška*. The author was a priest, Jan Vlček-Vlčkovský. The story is based on Balbín, and is sufficiently oddly put together to be specially discommended.

Then comes a popular print: *The White Lady of Neuhaus: a Narrative of the Fifteenth Century*. Jihlav, printed and published by I. Rypl. There are two reprints, the latest of the three being of 1888. This work is the popular source of the tale of the white lady, but it is not original, but a shortened paraphrase of the German popular work, *Die weisse Frau in Neuhaus*. *Geister-*



*geschichte aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert.* The oldest print is: J. Stiassky, Prag, 1798. Many times reprinted after this. Even the German tale is not original: its source was an article by Prof. J. A. Eberhard in the *Berlinische Monatschrift*, i. 1783, p. 3, speaking of the tale according to Nagel's *Dissertatio historico-metaphysica de celebri spectro weisse Frau*, 1743, with an addendum by Prof. Gedicke, giving the life of Bertha v. Rosenberg according to Balbín. The German work has a story of Bohemian history from Jesuit sources. The story is much corrupted in these popular versions. Miloslav's "White Lady" in the *Česká Věsta* of May 6, 1842, p. 141, No. 36, sings of the servant returning from her sweetheart to find the White Lady sitting by the cradle. This is from the story of the *White Lady at the Cradle* of Peter Vok von Rosenberg, and it is taken from Balbín. Boieldieu's play, performed at Prague in 1853, has nothing to do with this White Lady. Grillparzer's *Ahnfrau* appeared in Spott's version in 1854. This has only the name Bertha in common with our story, and she is Berta von Borotin. He based his play on Kristina B. Naubert's *Die weisse Frau*, a working up of Eberhard's article.

Jos. Pečírka's *White Lady: a National tale*, 1859, is an original and artistic compilation, under Balbín's influence. The tale of the establishment of the "sweet pap," and of the refusal of it by the besieger of Rosenberg are given. Even the incident of the treasure being shown to the disguised Peter Vok von Rosenberg by his ancestress appears here. Cf. J. Wenig, *Kytice pověstí*, 1811, p. 54 note, for some parallels pointing to a common literary source.

J. K. Hraše gives one of the episodes in "Tales from S. Bohemia," in *Hvězda*, iii. 1861, No. 36, p. 584 n., No. 37, p. 599 n. But this is not a folk-tale. Another version in *Babiččina vypravování*, 1880, p. 149.

In the seventies appears the anonymous romance, *The White Lady and the Last Knight of Hohenstein, or the Gipsy's Prophecy. A noteworthy historical romance of the time of the Reformation, with pictures.* Prague, 2 vols., no date. Its heroine is Jitka v. Hohenstein. This is a complicated version of the story, and shows traces of incidents taken from J. Müller's *Erzählungen und Sagen des Taborer Kreises*, pt. 2, *Die Burgkapelle von Borotin*. The White Lady incident is not central in this worthless book, but



the work has some nobler ideals, and is of value as a source of popular tradition.

In Václav Beneš-Třebízský's *On the Eve of the Five-petalled Rose* of 1884, an elegy on the end of the house of Rosenberg, the tale is used to strengthen the sorrowful feeling evoked by the dying out of a famous family. Evička, the sister of the last Rosenberg, reminds the servants of Krumlov of the White Lady Bertha, whose figure is seen in the castle corridor, and is regarded as the guardian spirit of the family, and so on. His version of the story uses the name Bertha von Rosenberg, following Balbín. Similarly he adorns his story of the end of the Svanbergs, the Rosenbergs' successors, with the White Lady story.

Žofia Podlipská, *The White Lady*, a three-act play, Prague, 1887. This is a very considerable rehandling of the usual material, raising the idea of the White Lady to the highest levels of ideality as an instrument of Providence.

A later version, in 1808, by J. Košťálek, as a children's play, makes the White Lady the living Bertha von Rosenberg, and takes features of the story from Sedláček and Pecírek.

2. The oldest literary studies of the tale are of secondary rank and, though set out by the writer, need not appear here, as they rather concern the history of Bohemian literary criticism.

3. The tale is traced through various disguises in borrowed plumes in various collections of popular tales, which need not be set out here.

II. Bohemian popular tradition relating to the White Lady. It was too late set down to show many variants.

1. (a) The White Lady in Nature. She is met with as accompanying a traveller on part of his way, or appearing at a chapel, a bridge, a cross, the moat of a city, etc. A number of local variants of this story. (b) Another class of appearances is connected with wells or springs, out of or into which she comes; here again certain named wells are indicated in the Slany district and elsewhere. Certain versions have a religious twist.

2. The White Lady becomes in certain cases the guardian of a treasure on a hill. This is found in German as well as Bohemian sources. Sometimes she brings out the treasure herself, sometimes merely shows where it is.



3. The child forgotten in the hill and the White Lady. The child is left *in* the hill at one of the seasons (Good Friday, Passiontide) when it is open, and there are treasures there. The child's mother is a poor widow. After a year the mother finds the child, who has been guarded by the White Lady, according to some of the stories. A few variants exist.

4. The enchanted White Lady. The appearance of the vision prompted the question, Why? The answer was that she was under enchantment, either without offence or for some wrong-doing, and awaits release. This gave full rein to popular imagination, and there are the most varied reasons given to account for her position. One of the most interesting is that of the White Lady at the White Mountain castle. This has several variants, and occurs in different places. It is probably of German origin.

5. The enchanted White Lady and the finding of the treasure. The White Lady demands release and offers great treasures for it, which the bold deliverer may win.

The central motive of these tales is, as in the preceding section, a test which the deliverer must undergo. However, the would-be deliverer usually fails to fulfil the conditions, or has not enough courage to attempt the rescue.

According to the story in Krolmus's Collection, ii. 565 n., a white lady appeared to a ploughman at Waldeck, and asked him to free her. She often talked to him, and hid money in a well for him. Then she asked him to come at midnight to the well Lida that she might give him abundant treasures, but he refused. On this the White Lady said she must remain enchanted and lost until a priest from the cloister of St. Dobrotiva releases her, and he will be red-headed. Silesian and also German variants follow.

The "contamination" of the motives of enchantment and of a treasure is evident in a tale in the collection *Slavie, poh. a pov. naš. lidu*, 1882, p. 107. An old boatman saw on the day of the Passion a marshlight (will-of-the-wisp) below Točník. He did not allow himself to be misled by the mockery, but began to dig there. He dug down to some stairs leading to the depths. At the twentieth step a white lady appeared to him, and asked him what he was doing, then told him that she had but a year to watch a treasure and await release, that he is to come at the same time a



year hence ; then he will be able to take whatever he may desire. The opening fell on the old man when they finished singing in the church of the Passion, and he died soon after this.

In both the above tales it does not come to an attempt at liberation. The manner of the liberation is defined in a tale from the district of Beroun, cf. *Amort*, p. 36, where the motive of the Passion is also preserved. At Passiontide a beautiful young lady showed to a youth from a farm a treasure and says that he can accept what he can carry away, but must not dare to look back on the way home. Otherwise the treasure would disappear and she would be made unlucky for fifty years. The nearer the youth got to the house, the bigger and bigger was the noise he heard behind him, desperate weeping and cries for help. When he got to the side-door to his house, he turned round, wishing to step over the prop. There followed a huge report and violent weeping moved away from him. All the pockets in which he had stowed treasures took fire.

The prohibition to turn round is common and is illustrated from German sources, but one might add the classic Orpheus and Eurydike, and the Biblical story of Lot's wife.

The tale of the Enchanted Lady in the Schatzberg at Jihlau introduces as a condition of the liberation of the Enchanted Lady transportation over the castle moor. Cf. Pátek, *Pověsti z Jihlavy a Okolí*, p. 20 n. The terrifying of the liberator by various chimeras hinders the rescue. The lady laments, and says she must suffer till the Judgment Day. Various German parallels are given.

The motive of carrying and of a huge weight appears also in a notable tale from Hungarian Hradishte. Cf. Vernaleken, *Mythen*, p. 124. A white lady appeared to two men who were looking for a treasure and told them that they will not find a treasure, unless they lie down on the ground, etc. But they could not endure that test. Various German parallels are quoted. Three white ladies appear in the ruins of Herstein, according to a tale from Domažlicko. Cf. Světozor, ii. 1868, p. 102. These are the spirits of the daughters of John of Herstein, whom he, to protect them from the enemy Bavarian, immured with the treasure and who perished of hunger, when their father was killed. Their spirits guard their father's treasure.



On the night of Palm Sunday it is possible to see them there ; they will be rescued by a chaste youth who will raise the treasure that night. This tale arose on the basis of some historical event and of the tales of the freeing of an enchanted white lady. Pomeranian and German parallels given.

6. The White Lady announces an unlucky event. This unlucky event is mostly death: the White Lady is the ambassadress of death.

The tale, "The White and Black Lady, or the Woman," in Krolmus, ii. p. 484, tells how the dying saw "a white female [figure] standing by a stone and weeping," or "a white lady coming out of a door," who came to them to announce their death. According to a note by Krolmus, a black lady announces death in the district of Saatz and a white lady in the neighbourhood of Rakovnik. At Luštěnice they know a tale that a white lady appears to the woman whose husband is going to die. She comes down the chimney and makes a noise like a sheet of paper ; if this rustling is to be heard, the woman will not dare to appear. [*Vdati*, usually = marry !] The men whose wives are to die see the white lady. Cf. Grohmann, pp. 68-9.

According to another story quoted there, a white lady announces deaths in the cloister of the nuns at Kuttentberg, singing sacred songs at midnight. In the district of Hořice also there is a similar belief. To some one it appeared that he saw "that evening that father died such a white female [figure] outside. There she grew till she hung over the tomb and became one with it." *Nár. Sborník Okresu hořického*, Hořice, 1895, p. 112.

Parallels from Lusatian Serbs (Wends), Tyrol, etc. Other forms of ill-luck are also announced by the white lady. If any kind of misfortune is going to happen at the village of Tuchoraz, in the district of Böhmisch Brod, there come out of the vault of the tower at midnight between Maundy Thursday and Good Friday two white ladies that go gradually through the village, singing sacred songs. Cf. Grohmann, p. 91. Other Bohemian and German cases.

In Carlstein district a white lady appears at midnight before a sick man's house and asks, Are they all at home? If so, she says whether the sick man will die or not. If all are not at home, she says she can't wait longer and the sick man will die. Cf.



Grohmann, p. 70. The white lady of this tale has yet somehow another character; it is the white lady of the castle of Carlstein; she announced the death of the castle citizens, and then the people saw it in the lower castle. Cf. F. V. Zelinka, *Sbírka lidového podání z Berounska*, p. 7.

The announcement of death and important events belongs to the characteristics of numerous tales in later sections.

7. The White Lady in inhabited places, in walled cities and castles, the White Lady of the Vítkovec family.

Previous tales mention the appearance of a white lady in inhabited places or near them: this is due to enchantment, the unrest of the wandering spirit, a sign of death. Instances of *causeless* appearances are given from Vyšehrad and elsewhere in Prague, etc. Every "hrad" (fortified enclosure) in Bohemia has its White Lady. A long list from Balbín is given. It is a very simple story, of a mere vision. It also appears in the ruins of a "hrad." So at Tetín. The story is mostly elaborated by accretions from elsewhere. General references to the White Lady usually mean the one of the Rosenberg and Hradec families, the founder of the soft pap. (They claim descent from a mythical ancestor Vítka, hence Vítkovec.) This is in South Bohemia.

The earliest known account is in Gregor Richter's *Axiomata Œconomica*, printed in 1600 at Görlitz. The next is a Jesuit report of 1604, then a letter of Adalbert Chanovský, 1618. A fuller account is in his posthumous *Vestigium Bohemiae piae*, 1659, and in Adam Tanner's *Amuletum Castrense*, 1620, etc. The first compiler and historian of the story is Balbín (*Miscellanea*).

The details given in Balbín of Slavata's inquiry of the old men as to the soft pap, evidence the following traditions: that the white lady was a widow and the guardian of the orphans of the Vítkovec family, and that the winter was substituted quite late for the autumn as the date of distribution of the soft pap. These points were left out by Sedláček in his effort to restore the live tradition as it was before Balbín. The appearance on great occasions in the castle was a popular tradition: many of the details are purely literary in origin. There is a popular tale of a White Lady showing a treasure to Peter Vok of Rosenberg. Other versions and families are mentioned. Also other countries.



e.g. Bayreuth, Russia, Paris, London, even America! A specially common tale in Silesia. But the White Lady of the Vítkovec families was not only a messenger of death and misfortune, but also appeared on joyous events. Balbín says she only brought bad news when she had a black glove. Various versions make her a punisher of ill-doers and a protector of the poor. In most of these stories she is the ancestress of the family, but in others she is one who is suffering for her sins in some way or other, including that of opposing parental authority.

8. The White Lady in places of unlucky events, such as murders, suicides, accidents. Here the idea of the White Lady is merely the declaration of the popular religious idea as to the life after death and of the punishment which pursues the soul in that it does not find rest. Various examples are quoted from collections such as Krolmus, A. Blažka, etc.

### III. Expositions of the story of the White Lady.

In this matter the most important story is that of the Vítkovec White Lady, and this has received continuous attention from Chanovský to the present day. According to him (ob. 1643) it was the spirit of Bertha von Schwamberg, wife of a lord of Rosenberg. His explanation is invalid, as history knows no such lady.

Next comes Balbín, who devoted much labour to the matter, collecting all the details of the story and variants, and trying to establish a standard version. He regards her as the benefactor, the ancestral spirit watching over the safety of the family. He proves this by the foundation of the sweet pap and the appearance at Pelčín in 1645, when the Swedes refused to give it. He conjectures that she is Bertha von Rosenberg. His main evidence is a picture in the castle at Neuhaus labelled Bertha. He gives a full description of the annual popular feast known as the "sweet pap."

This theory had such success that efforts were made to connect Bertha with the appearances in *Germany* through the family alliances with Baden, etc. Erasmus Francisci, *Der Höllische Proteus*, 1708, was the first to do this. Nagel gathered up all this in a dissertation, Wittenberg, 1743. Balbín is the source of all the stories even in the *Calendar of Documents* of the Telč estate.

Minutoli's book gave evidence that the White Lady had appeared



in 1346 in Germany, too early a date for Balbín's theory. Later evidence came that Berta was not at Neuhaus, and so not the White Lady nor the founder of the feast. This was due to the study of the letters of Bertha.

J. Salaba in his work tried to show the probable origin, development, analysis and historical basis of the tale of the White Lady of the Vítkovec family. His analysis may be accepted in the main. Salaba explains the sad part of the story by carrying the German story into Bohemia after 1600, but there are evidences throwing the Bohemian popular tradition back into the *sixteenth* century, and this destroys his theory. But it is certain that new foreign elements associated themselves with the Bohemian tradition: this took place not later than the sixteenth century, from South Germany, perhaps direct from Bayreuth. The Rosenbergs had it first, then the Hradec family. In the seventeenth century White Ladies multiplied as a piece of Jesuit machinery.

The Vítkovec White Lady is a non-unitary composite of various elements: history, popular tradition, reflection on history and German tradition filtering down from the nobles to the people. Various mythological explanations vitiated by uncritical treatment of Bohemian history are cited from Grimm (a German goddess, the Bright one, hence *white*), J. E. Födisch, A. Kuhn, W. Schwartz, Max Müller, L. Laistner. The last abandoned the explanation given in his "Nebelsagen," and took a different view later.

Grimm had hinted that Berchta might be parallel to Befana. J. W. Mannhardt definitely stated that she was a personification of the Epiphany. Still a goddess might more easily than a day in the calendar start such an idea. A. N. Veselovsky has studied Mannhardt's view and called into consideration the story of the "Reine Pédaque," Sybille, the girl with the goose feet. Another view regards this Reine Pédaque as Bertha, the mother of Charlemagne. Among other points she is said to be connected with the care of children, because the Epiphany was originally set apart for celebrating the children slain by Herod (*i.e.* as Innocents' Day). The later combinations may be admitted as resting on Balbín's error, borrowed from Grimm. The Epiphany explanation was driven out by E. H. Meyer, Mannhardt's own pupil. Various others are given, but need not be quoted here. Th. Stettner has



pointed out the error of connecting the tale of the Orlamünd enemy of children with the tale of the White Lady: she might be a Valkyrie. W. Wundt, in his *Völkerpsychologie* revives a view of Balbín's. There are certain Bohemian explanations, resting largely on German views already stated or quoted.

Thus Krolmus represents something confused and quite opposed to the school of Mikšíček and Menšík. J. Fejfalík follows Grimm in part. J. I. Hanus takes more names into the equation. So too Dvorský, whose historical study of the question is, however, of value. Erben and Sedláček follow the German majority.

Everything in Bohemian and German traditions points to the White Lady and Bertha being quite separate ideas and essentially different. Certain appearances of Bertha in Bohemian tradition are quoted, and this was taken into the Bohemian cycle very early, and has nothing in common with the other.

The White Lady has a very varied origin, one of the most important sources being the belief in the soul. The idea of enchantment is a natural answer to the question why she appears. Some traces of metempsychosis come in here. The announcement of the future is possible because a spirit knows what is to come. The appearance in enclosed places is the least popular of the elements of the story: it comes from Bayreuth in 1486.

There are several German versions having elements such as a light carried by the White Lady, gifts made by her, etc.

The messenger of fate was introduced to Bohemia from Germany in the sixteenth century, but was ennobled and modified into a protective ancestress of the family. This idea, so modified, went back to Germany and thence elsewhere, chiefly by literary means.

In Year 8, No. 5-6, Salaba adds some notes on the same matter. He says he attributes the Vítkovec story to the Jesuits only, and Wollman vaguely to "noble circles."

He gives three instances of pre-Jesuit stories of the White Lady announcing the future, but all these three instances are from outside Bohemia and far from the Rosenberg territory. Other points also, besides the silence of quite uncritical adherents of Peter Vok and other Rosenbergs, are against the genuineness of these earlier stories. Thus the account of the change of nurses is given *without*



Balbín's addition in Březan-Heerman. Certain proceedings of copyists-plagiarists, such as Balbín and Heerman, are pointed out as characteristic of the period. Working with this genealogical enthusiasm Jesuit demonology would be well able to produce the results.

He agrees with the South German, Bayreuth origin, assigned by Wollman, but sticks to his date and Sophia Hohenzollern as the one who brought the story into the Rosenberg family.

The banquet is an alien element introduced into the story. The first direct reports (1600) come from Böhmisches Krummau (Č. Krumlov) and then Neuhaus, never from Třebon. At the two former were Jesuit colleges, but not at Třebon. The Jesuits report the appearance and bring it up at castle after castle, when it became fashionable. It is a largely genealogical and political idea of the Jesuits, introduced at a certain date *after* the Hohenzollern marriage.

F. Wollman replies in the next number with some fresh evidences for his view and corrections of alleged errors by Salaba.

14. Beginning with the obituary notice at the time of his death and noting what has been written about Vavák since, the writer then turns to an analysis of the "Reminiscences." He was an agriculturist of note, an honorary citizen of Pilsen and judge at Milčice, having been wholly self-educated. The historical parts of the analysis, though of value as showing the high quality as well as the limits of Vavák's work, cannot be dealt with here. In the Reminiscences many matters of wide interest are copied. Thus there is a very violent sixteenth century poem against the Monks, which is not printed in full by the editor. An original poem of his own is a valuable summary of all the ills of villainage-serfdom as existing in Austria before Joseph II.'s abolition of it. Very soon it was reinstated by Leopold, and great troubles ensued, as to which Vavák is illuminating and candid. He gives a series of brief accounts of various charms and old beliefs, as of the wooden pathway leading up from the castle of Libice in Libussa's time, of the army covered up inside the summit, of the great battle which the prophecy says will take place between Cidlina and Mrlina and end in the defeat of the enemy coming from the north. Although he gives with varying attitude a certain selection of



superstitions, including the one that Joseph II. had not died but gone to Berlin and would return to exterminate the Roman Catholic faith utterly, the main value of the work is as a picture of the life of the countryman and countryside in the eighteenth century by an extraordinarily many-sided man.

15. I. How folk songs are circulated.

Epic and ballad poetry show astonishing parallelisms, which suggest that we have to do with variants of one original. So too with folk songs. He is specially concerned with Western Slav forms.

You must assume direct borrowing, and yet the method is not easy to explain and justify. He takes examples from an article on "Czech and Slovak Folk Songs" in the Warsaw *Dzwon Literacki*, of 1847, by O. Kolberg, the great Polish collector of ballad poetry. Apart from errors of language-classification (Slovak as a Bohemized Polish dialect! etc.), he proceeds to set out Kolberg's examples, taken down in Warsaw from Slovak wiredrawers<sup>1</sup> who spend the winter in the borders of German and Slavonic lands. Sreznevsky made similar collections from a similar source.

There are twenty-one songs, of which he prints a considerable part of the text of the last:

To je kratké—to je dluhé,  
To stolica rézacy,  
To sou skrypki—to sou basy,  
To slepota pohazy, etc.

In a supplement Kolberg gave the melodies and illustrations which enable *slepota* in the first stanza to be corrected to *slepica*. The song is well known to Bohemians, but the text actually got to the far North, the White Russian Polesie, the land about the Pripet. This was reported by Jan Karłowicz in *Witśa* (ii. 849). The language is mixed, having been brought by so-called "Hungarian" women, *i.e.* Slovaks, to Białorus. The White Russian text runs:

Basy skrypki długi krótki,  
Tu stolica Reczyca,  
Hak, ptak, pahaniak,  
Choine, widła gnojne, etc.

<sup>1</sup> *Dróciarz* is wiredrawer, but some derivatives of *drót* mean knitting, etc. (*ó=u*).



In place of the unintelligible *rezacy*, the White Russian put the name of a well-known place, *Rzeczyca*: *przytahał* was likewise altered to *pałaniák*. Certain errors of Karłowicz are noted, due to the Bohemian-Slovak not being familiar to him.

The importance of the text is to show how far a song can go with slight variants even in an alien linguistic atmosphere. There is a mysterious drawing connected with this which caught the attention of *Wisła*, which tried to encourage the collection of materials about it. Except a schoolboy who wrote certain hieroglyphs and then read them off, there is no Polish record of these things. Some suggest they are old Slavonic characters (?runes, ?glagolitic ?cyrillic), or the remains of some things used by smiths of various sorts (? gypsy alphabet), etc. A misinterpretation led Smólski to quote a stanza of our poem as a riddle, thus:

Koło wożne	[ <i>Trans.</i> The wheel of a cart, dung
widły gnojne	forks after . . . hop so! This is the
pośladu klepica	child's bench.— <i>Sklepica</i> I don't know,
hop tak!	but it is some diminutive of <i>sklep</i> ,
To jest kindebank!	a shop.]

It is suggested that *klepica* and *hop tak* (for *sklepica* and *hak, tak*) arise from an error of the collector's: they would be still nearer to the original then. No pure Polish variants are known, and all the variants quoted are of Slovak provenance. Various Moravian and Czech variants are cited. "Paprika-Janči" quoted as a chain-form is explained as a hit at Magyar speculators by Malý, but seems to be of the same family as the "House that Jack built." They draw pictures on paper, and then say: 1. This is an apple. 2. And out of this apple Paprika Janči was born. 3. P. J. builds him a house, etc. P. J. ends on the gallows. This belongs to a class of games depending on drawings for their starting-point. There are even German variants, not previously noted by Slav investigators. Thus the "O, Du schöne Hobelbank" has a stanza:

Das ist kurz und das ist lang  
Und das ist 'ne Hobelbank.  
Kurz und lang, Hobelbank, etc.



The form of the repetition is identical with that of the Slavonic texts. Certain parallels with Moravian variants are shown. This is known throughout Germany and in Silesia. It is a forfeit game starting with pictures. It occurs also in isolated modified forms in German. I would add to what the writer points out that *kindebank* in the case collected by Smólski would very conveniently fit the case of the *Hobelbank* in the fisherman's wedding dialogue at Hela peninsula, Danzig.

II. Song: "Teče voda od Tábora." The text is quoted from Erben, and his explanation of the well-known erotic significance of the apple is given. Erben gave no variants, although he had seven texts. That they came from the same two districts (N.E. Bohemia) does not much lessen the curiosity of the point. The greatly increased modern facilities still show that this is, according to M. Horák, a hapax legomenon in Bohemian and Slavonic popular poetry.

The ballad can be divided into two parts, the first, strophe 1-5, being of the nature of a lyrico-epic song, and the rest is of different character. The first part (1-5) corresponds in substance to a folksong in Erben: strophe 1-3 are practically unchanged, and the 4th and 5th strophe agree in the song much more conveniently with the framework of the 1st to 3rd than in the ballad. The song has many variants. It even found its way into Poland. In this latter case the apple which reaches the loved one's window is the lover himself, and it ends with a dialogue of the lovers.

The second part of the ballad is quite independent, strophes 6 and 7 being a fresh beginning. Zíbrt actually gives "Byl Myslivec na Táboře" as an independent text. The ending is obscure and disquieting. This second part may be said to consist of the same action in substance as the first part, and a lyrical song with its simple construction overweighted with what are non-popular, literary elements. The punctuation is modern and may have been due to Erben; but this is not all, the whole style is modern in the phrase "the night is close, the hart flees and the earth shakes beneath him," for instance.

His conclusion reduces the evidence for the whole ballad to one or at most two contributors, and finally shows that this is a



literary construction on the basis of the folksong whose variants appearing elsewhere are not corruptions, still less corruptions of a pseudo-ballad of later date.

There are various evidences that the second part is no mere literary construction, as it contains elements strongly resembling certain folksongs from the Bohemian and Polish ethnographic district, though the former are in German (from Silesia). There is no evidence as to the author of the contamination. It was certainly not Erben, but may have been Doucha or some informant of his.

L. C. WHARTON.

NOTE ON PP. 345, 346.

The stanzas quoted read:

"This is short—this is long,  
This the chopping bench (or block),  
These are fiddles—these are bass-viol,  
This comes from the blind man," etc.

The last line is translated on the basis of *slepica* as = gen. of *slepíc*, blind man (*slepice* in Polish). *Slepice* in Bohemia means *hen*, and *slepota* is the nominative of the word for *blindness*, and so makes nonsense.

"Bass-viol, fiddles, long, short,  
Here is the capital city Reczyca,  
Hook, bird, pagan,  
Pear trees, dung forks," etc.

The word *przytohak*, for which *pahaniák* is substituted, is *prítahák* in Slovak, where it means rope or grappling-iron.

The German variant reads:

"This is short and this is long,  
And this is a joiner's bench,  
Short and long, joiner's bench," etc.

L. C. W.

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## EVENING MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, 15th NOVEMBER, 1916.

THE PRESIDENT (DR. R. R. MARETT) IN THE CHAIR.

THE minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was read from Miss Burne regretting her inability to be present at the meeting.

The election of the following new members, viz. the Rev. E. O. James, Capt. Jenner Clarke, Mr. T. R. Georgevitch, Dr. Julius Price, Miss C. Field, the Countess Martinengo Cesaresco, Mr. P. Krishna Moorthy, and Mrs. Jenkinson, and the enrolment as a subscriber of the Wellesley College Library were announced.

The death in action of Capt. Elliott H. Crooke, Lieut. R. J. E. Tiddy, and Capt. H. C. Gouldsbury, and the resignations of Mr. W. H. Barker, Mr. F. Roscoe, and Miss Phipson were also announced.

Mr. W. Crooke read a paper on "Bull Baiting and Bull Racing," and in the discussion which followed the Chairman,



Dr. Gaster, Dr. Hildburgh, and His Honour J. S. Udal took part.

The meeting terminated with a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Crooke for his paper.

The following books and pamphlets have been presented to the Society during the Session 1915-16:

*Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. X. Part IV. ("The Beaver Indians," by P. E. Goddard); Vol. XI. Part. VII. ("Pawnee Indian Societies," by James R. Murie); Vol. XI. Part VIII. ("Societies of the Arikara Indians," by Robt. H. Lowie); Vol. XI. Part IX. ("Societies of the Iowa Kansa and Ponca Indians," by A. Skinner); Vol. XI. Part X. ("Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone," by R. H. Lowie); Vol. XI. Part XII. ("Shamanistic and Dancing Societies," by Clark Wissler); Vol. XII. Part III. ("Peruvian Textiles," by M. D. C. Crawford); Vol. XIII. Part II. ("Ceremonies of the Menomini Indians," by A. Skinner); Vol. XIII. Part III. ("Folklore of the Menomini Indians," by A. Skinner and J. V. Satterlee); Vol. XV. Part I. "Pueblo Ruins of the Galisteo Basin, New Mexico," by N. C. Nelson); Vol. XVII. Part I. ("Riding Gear of the North American Indians," by Clark Wissler); Vol. XVII. Part II. ("Costumes of the Plains Indians," by Clark Wissler); Vol. XVII. Part III. ("Decoration of Costumes among the Plains Indians," by Clark Wissler); Vol. XVIII. Part I. ("Zuni Potsherds," by A. L. Kroeber); *Primitive and Ancient Legal Institutions*, 2 vols., by A. Kocourek and J. H. Wigmore; *The Village of Stone and its Druidical Circle in Prehistoric Times*, by the Rev. F. de P. Castells; *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin* 46 ("A Dictionary of the Choctaw Language," by C. Byington); *Bulletin* 57 ("An Introduction to the Study of Maya Hieroglyphics," by S. G. Morley); *Bulletin* 62 ("Physical Anthropology of the Delawares, etc.," by Hrdlecka); *Canada Department of Mines, Bulletin* 19 ("A Sketch of the Social Organization



of the Nass River Indians," by E. Sapir); *Memoirs* 70 and 71 ("Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley and Myths and Folklore of the Tinnskaning Algonquin and Timagani Ogibwa," by F. G. Speck); *Folk Song of Nebraska and the Central West*, by Louise Pound; *Huron and Wyandot Mythology*, by C. M. Barbeau; *The Journal of Hyderabad Archæological Society*, January, 1916; *The Moorish Conception of Holiness (Baraka)*, by Dr. Westermarck; *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Vol. XLV. Part II.; *Dravidian Gods in Modern Hinduism*, by Wilbur T. Elinore; *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 29; *Archæological Researches in Mysore, 1914-15*, presented by the Government of Mysore: *Annual Progress Report (Muhammadian and British Monuments—Northern Circle)*; *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, 1915*; *Ditto, Annual Report, Eastern Circle, 1914-15*; *Ditto, Annual Report, Southern Circle, Madras, 1914-15*; *Ditto, Annual Report, Frontier Circle, 1915-16*; *Government of Madras, Report of Public Department, 1915*; *Ditto of Educational Department, 1916*; *Archæological Survey of Burma, Report 1916*; and *Annual Progress Report (Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle), 1915*—all presented by the Government of India *Epigraphia Zeylanica (Lithic and other Inscriptions in Ceylon)*, Vol. II. Part III.; *Archæological Survey of Ceylon, Supplementary Plates for Annual Reports, 1903-1912 inclusive*; and *Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhara*, by A. Foucher.



## THE MAGICAL AND CEREMONIAL USES OF FIRE.

BY WINIFRED S. BLACKMAN.

*(Read at Meeting of May 17th, 1916.)*

THERE are no existing races without a knowledge of fire. On the other hand, the Andamanese are the only people certainly known to be without the art of producing it. Recently, however, in a very interesting book dealing with some of the tribes on the Amazon, it has been stated that "fire-making is unknown to the tribes on the south of the Japura;" though this knowledge is not lacking among the people north of that river.<sup>1</sup> Such statements have, indeed, been made by other travellers from time to time in the past; but these have since been found to be false. The cause of error was doubtless lack of knowledge of the more primitive methods employed in making fire. Also, since many of these methods are more or less laborious, the people concerned would refrain from making fire more frequently than could possibly be helped; and so, to avoid unnecessary work, care was taken not to let the fires go out.

How great is the care exercised to prevent the extinction of fires, even in a country where fire-making is well understood, is to be gathered from an example given by Dr. Haddon from the Torres Straits. A charm in the shape of a pregnant woman was placed near the fire whenever the people were obliged to leave their houses for a time. The spirit belonging to this figure attended to the

<sup>1</sup> T. Whiffen, *The North-West Amazons*, p. 48.



fire and saw that it did not go out. Looking after the fire is woman's work, and a woman in the condition represented by the image would not be so likely to be tempted to leave her home and neglect the duty of keeping the fire alight.<sup>1</sup> If, by some accident, the fire in one hut went out, a fresh supply was obtained from a neighbour. When travelling has to be done torches are often carried, these being sometimes made of resinous wood which will smoulder for days.

There is no direct evidence to show how man first arrived at the knowledge of making fire for himself. Possibly nature first supplied him with this very necessary commodity. The volcano, and the lightning flash, very probably gave man his first introduction to fire. Fire obtained from such sources might thereupon have been deliberately preserved by man for domestic purposes. Fire obtained from lightning is still highly valued among some primitive people. Thus the Kagoro of Nigeria think that fire originated in the world from lightning. Hence at the present day, if any tree or house is struck by lightning and set on fire, the people immediately extinguish their own fires, and with bundles of grass in their hands hasten to the spot where the lightning fire is burning, carrying back the fire obtained from it to rekindle that on their own hearths. Anyone who failed to do this would be thought to possess black magic. There is evidently some special virtue attached by them to this fire coming, as it were, straight from heaven.<sup>2</sup>

It would presumably take a very long time for early man to learn how to make his own fire; and what he had obtained from nature's sources would be very carefully guarded and kept alight, as the supply would be so uncertain. This may be one of the reasons for the custom in vogue up to the present time among many primitive peoples of keeping at any rate *one* fire in a tribe

<sup>1</sup> *Cambridge Anthropol. Exped. to Torres Straits*, vi. 202.

<sup>2</sup> A. J. N. Tremearne, *The Tailed Headhunters of Nigeria*, pp. 193-194.



constantly burning, necessitating the setting apart of certain individuals who must devote themselves to this task.

Seemingly, then, we can never know when and how man learnt to make fire. It is a question which has exercised the mind of primitive man himself, and accounts for the hundreds of myths found all over the world that try to explain how fire came to men. In some cases these myths do suggest a quite possible origin. In hot, dry countries two branches of dry wood rubbed together in a wind might easily start a fire, the dried leaves forming the tinder; and, indeed, this has been actually known to happen. Correspondingly in Borneo we find a myth purporting to give the origin of fire. There had been a great flood, and every one, except a woman, had been drowned. For company she had a dog, a rat and a few other small animals, these being the only survivors from the deluge. The dog was discovered to have found a warm corner for himself near a creeper, which, being swayed by the wind, was rubbed against a tree, producing warmth by the friction. This gave the woman a hint, and, by rubbing a creeper on a piece of wood, she produced fire for the first time.<sup>1</sup>

Or again, we are reminded of the Song of Hiawatha, where the Master of Life came down and

“Breathed upon the neighbouring forest,  
Made its great boughs chafe together,  
Till in flames they burst and kindled.”

So much must suffice as regards the obscure subject of the origin of fire.

And now, before beginning to discuss the magical and ceremonial value attaching to fire, it will be well to pass in review some of the various methods employed for the production of fire by primitive peoples of the present day, and also, as far as is known, by those of the past. I may take

<sup>1</sup> C. Hose and W. M'Dougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, ii. 144-147.



this opportunity of acknowledging my debt to the many kind suggestions of Mr. Henry Balfour, of the Pitt-Rivers Mission, Oxford.

1. *By Friction between Two Pieces of Wood.*

(a) *Drilling method* (a rotary process). Judging from its very wide geographical distribution, this method of making fire seems to be most primitive. A horizontal piece of wood, generally called "the hearth," is placed on the ground, and is retained in position sometimes by the feet or foot of the performer, sometimes by an assistant who holds it down with his hands. Shallow holes are made in the hearth, mostly along the edge, with a vertical channel at the side of each for the collection of charred dust. One end of a spindle, usually made of harder wood than that of the hearth, is placed in one of these holes, the operator twirling it between the palms of both hands. A certain amount of pressure must be brought to bear, this pressure varying according to the kind of wood used. The rapidity of the drilling movement is gradually increased, the hands moving up and down the stick without a break. Sometimes two, or even three, people are employed, one relieving the other. The hot dust accumulates in a conical heap, and sometimes the tinder, of dry leaves, moss, and so forth, is placed under it. At the psychological moment the operator blows on the hot dust, and thus sets fire to the tinder. Fire can sometimes be obtained quite quickly by this method. It largely depends on the kinds of wood used, on its dryness, and on the skill of the operators. Owing to the perishable quality of wood, no trace of such methods can well be found in prehistoric sites.

(b) "*Stick and groove*" (or "*ploughing*") *method*. In this case a fairly large piece of wood is often used for the hearth, while an upper stick, more or less pointed, is worked backwards and forwards in a groove along the grain. The dust



accumulates at the distal end, is placed on tinder, and blown into flame. This is a more or less simple method, and an expert can produce fire in a few seconds by this means. This process of fire-making is sometimes called the Polynesian method, it being very characteristic of that area.

(c) *Sawing method.* The usual way of producing fire by this method is to split a bamboo into two pieces, with a transverse notch cut across the lower piece, the blade, or upper stick, being sawn across the notch with gradually increasing speed. At a certain point the smoke changes colour, and then the operator knows that he has got his spark. The tinder is frequently placed near the notch on the lower stick. Sometimes, as among the Paniyans of Southern India, the tinder consists of a piece of cotton cloth, which is stuffed into a longitudinal slit in the hearth.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes the process is reversed, the saw being the under piece, and the hearth being moved backwards and forwards over it. This sawing method is closely associated with Malay culture.

In order to obtain fire expeditiously the Malays sometimes recite the following charm:

“The Mouse-deer asks for fire  
To singe his mother-in-law’s feathers.”

The “mother-in-law” is a little bird, rather like a pigeon in shape, with very gay plumage. This bird and the “Mouse-deer” in the days of King Solomon had human forms. The mother-in-law was aggravating, and persisted in dancing in front of her son-in-law wherever he went. It brought about a quarrel that resulted in their being transformed into their present shapes. This, however, has not cured the mother-in-law of her exasperating antics, for she is still often seen hopping in front of the Mouse-deer as it goes along.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. vi. pp. 70-71.

<sup>2</sup> W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 318.



In Central Australia one way of making fire is by this sawing method. A longitudinal groove is cut on the back of a shield for the accumulation of hot dust, and a spear-thrower is used as a saw. The shields are made of powdery wood, the spear-throwers of hard wood.<sup>1</sup> Two men sit opposite to each other holding the shield down with their feet and keeping it steady. Each holds one end of the spear-thrower, which they saw vigorously backwards and forwards till fire is produced.

(d) *Sawing with flexible thong.*<sup>2</sup> This is a variant of the sawing method just mentioned. The stick is generally of soft wood, such as *hibiscus*, a wood which powders readily and "bites." The thong is usually a strip of cane. One end of the stick is sometimes split in two and kept open by means of a small stone. Tinder is then inserted in the fork, and round it the thong is placed, the ends of which are pulled alternately. The stick is sometimes stuck up vertically, sometimes held horizontally on the ground. Occasionally the flexible thong has small toggles at both ends, which act as handles.

(e) *Thong-drill and bow-drill.* This is an improvement on the drilling method which heads our list of processes. A thong is passed two or three times round the spindle, the ends being pulled alternately. A second person must steady the spindle by pressing it down from the upper end. The Eskimo are the only people who can manage to work this thong-drill single-handed. The upper end of their spindle is sometimes furnished with a mouth-piece. This they hold firmly between their teeth, thus steadying the spindle. From quite early years these good folk are constantly "on the chew," since their leather thongs are

<sup>1</sup> B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 584-586; and *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 618-619.

<sup>2</sup> For a full record of fire-making with a flexible thong, with its geographical distribution, see H. Balfour, *Jour. R. Anthropol. Inst.* vol. xlv. January-June, 1914, pp. 32-64.



softened in this way, while the blubber is chewed in summer time, in order to extract oil for their lamps. This habit has developed their temporal muscles to such an extent that they can stand the vibration caused by the drill.

Sometimes the ends of the thong are attached to a bow, which is worked backwards and forwards. In this case only one operator is necessary, one hand working the bow while the other holds down the spindle, which is sometimes capped with half a cocoanut. The bow-drill seems to have been used by the ancient Egyptians, and hearths (the horizontal stick) have been found on sites belonging to a period as early as the twelfth dynasty. Bow-drills have also been found belonging to the same period. Such a bow-drill is still used by the Reindeer Chukchee. Instead of half a cocoanut shell, such as is often used by the Malays and others, at the top of the spindle, the upper piece is almost always made of the astragalus of a reindeer. These people hold it in position with the left hand or the breast, the board being kept steady by the foot. The right hand works the bow.

Another way of making fire is that known as the *Percussion method*, flint and steel or iron pyrites being used. This was in common use in this country up to quite recent times, in fact, until the introduction of matches. It also seems to have been one, at any rate, of the methods employed in prehistoric times; for in a cave of the Mousterian period in Jersey,<sup>1</sup> as well as on Neolithic sites, pieces of iron pyrites have been found which show marks of such use, and are associated with flints of a form suggesting that they were employed for this purpose. This way of producing fire is almost world-wide, and is an especially convenient method in damp climates. It is constantly found side by side with one of the frictional processes.

<sup>1</sup> R. R. Marett, *Archaeologia*, lxii. p. 465.



This must suffice as an account of the leading primitive methods of making fire, though our list does not include some of the rarer devices, as, for instance, the pump-drill.

In many parts of the world at the present day, even among quite primitive people, the methods of fire-making mentioned above have been superseded to a great extent by the introduction of matches by Europeans. But even where this is the case, when fire is needed for ceremonial or magical uses, the old methods are retained.

Let us now go on to consider the magico-religious value of that mysterious agent, fire. Fire is sometimes looked upon as a benign agent, sometimes as a destroying demon. It purifies, warms, and heals. It protects the new-born child, and lights up the road for the departing spirit. It drives off evil influences, destroys disease, makes the sun shine and stops the rain from falling. It plays a large and important part both in the religious and in the social life of all races of mankind from the cradle to the grave. Without it man could not have survived, and the power of producing it differentiates him almost more than anything else from other animals.

#### *Fire as Protective.*

Primitive men must have found out in very early days that large fires kept burning through the night would help to safeguard them against wild beasts, man himself being meanwhile provided with very inadequate weapons of defence. This might have led up to the idea of fire being a protective agent, and to its use generally as a charm against evil spirits and other dangers. The use of fire as a protecting agent after birth, for the benefit of both mother and child, is almost universal. The idea seems to be that evil spirits are waiting ready to pounce on a child directly it enters the world, and against these demons both mother and child must be guarded. A fire or lamp is therefore kept burning



near them to ward off such dangers. Light is a safeguard, for evil spirits can only carry out their malicious designs under cover of darkness. Throughout Northern India this idea is very prevalent. The Vadar of Thâna fear a visit from the birth spirit on the fifth night after a birth. This spirit comes in the shape of a cat, hen, or dog, and eats the heart and skull of the child. Around the mother's bed are placed strands of a creeper; an iron knife or scythe is placed on the bed; and a fire in an iron bickern guards the entrance to the room, keeping watch during the night. This fire must on no account be allowed to go out, or the evil spirit may enter, and, stepping over the cold ashes, place its fatal mark on the child's forehead.<sup>1</sup>

Among the Parsis, when a child is born a lamp is lighted and kept burning in the room where the mother is confined. One of their sacred books says: "When the child becomes separate from the mother, it is necessary to burn a lamp for three nights and days—if they burn a fire it would be better."<sup>2</sup> The length of time that this lamp is kept burning varies. Sometimes it is kept alight for ten days, sometimes for forty, the latter being the time usually observed as the period of confinement. Another book directs that the lamp must be placed in such a position as to render it impossible for anyone to pass between it and the child.<sup>3</sup> In many parts of Britain, Scandinavia, and Germany the custom of lighting fires or candles round the newly-born infant still persists, to keep it from falling into the power of evil spirits.<sup>4</sup> The Hindus of Northern India think that spirits are always hovering in the air round a person's head. At a marriage, lights, among other things, are waved round the heads of the newly-married pair, to

<sup>1</sup> W. Crooke, *Folklore of Northern India*, vol. i. p. 265.

<sup>2</sup> *Sad-dar*, ch. xvi. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Shūyast-la-Shayast*, ch. x. 15. Quoted in art. on "Birth" in Hastings' *Dict. of Rel. and Ethics*, by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.

<sup>4</sup> Hastings' *Dict. of Rel. and Ethics*, art. "Birth" (Teutonic), E. Mogk.



protect them from these unwelcome guests.<sup>1</sup> In the old days the farmers of Perche, in France, in order to protect their cattle against witchcraft or disease, lighted little private bonfires in their farmyards and made the animals pass through the smoke and flames.<sup>2</sup> In Central France you protected yourself against sickness and obtained good luck by leaping several times over a fire. The embers from such a bonfire were taken home, dipped in holy water, and kept as a charm against all misfortunes and especially against lightning.<sup>3</sup> On May Day in the Isle of Man the cattle dealers drive their beasts through a fire so as to slightly singe them and to preserve them from harm.<sup>4</sup>

Among the Reindeer Chukchee the fire-making implement itself is used as a protective charm. The hearth, or lower stick, is usually roughly made in human form, the bow-drill being used. The hearth is used as a protection to the reindeer and is one of the most valued possessions of the family, the old worn out ones being the most highly prized. Some families have many fire-boards, the oldest usually protecting the reindeer, another protecting the hunting pursuits, and a third the sacrifices. Each fire-board is associated with the ownership of a part of the herd, and has its own brand with which that division of the herd is marked. When a boy reaches the age of four or five years, he is given a fire-board with its associated brand; but, if the number of fire-boards already in the possession of the family is not enough to go round, a new one is made and a new brand invented. If any part of the herd is lost, the fire-board protector is brought out and requested to find the lost reindeer. If any household property has to be piled up out of doors, a fire-board is often

<sup>1</sup> W. Crooke, *Folklore of Northern India*, vol. ii. pp. 23-24.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. i. p. 188.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. i. pp. 189-190.

<sup>4</sup> *Folk-Lore*, ii. 303; Brand, *Observations*, 7; Rhys, *Lectures*, 520, quoted by W. Crooke, *Folklore of Northern India*, vol. i. p. 298.



fastened to it in a conspicuous place to act as its guardian. The noise produced by the drilling is said to be its voice; the holes made by the drilling process are its eyes. Such implements are usually reserved for ceremonial use only, and descend to the eldest son, or sometimes to the youngest.<sup>1</sup> These ceremonial fire-boards are kept in bags, and when the calving season begins they are taken out so that they may protect the dams.<sup>2</sup>

There is a story explaining why these boards are used as protectors of the herd. Once upon a time two men, who had no feet and looked like fire-boards, came to a man who bred reindeer, and whose animals were restive and gave him a good deal of trouble. The herdsman fed these two visitors with tallow. Before retiring to rest the guests said to the master of the herd, "If the herd becomes suddenly frightened and tries to run away, it would be better for you to waken us at once." The host said, "How shall I awaken you?" "Take the bow," they replied, "and turn the drill in one of our eyes. When the drill begins to sing, the herd will stand still and then return to the house."<sup>3</sup>

The same use is made of the fire-board among the Koryaks, only the chief one is usually handed down to the youngest son or to the younger daughter, in which case the husband must live in his father-in-law's house. These fire-boards have sometimes been handed down for several generations.<sup>4</sup> At the father's death, if there are two sons, they divide the herd between them, if they wish to live apart. The younger inherits the fire-board; so the elder son has to make a new one for himself. This must be first dried over the fire and then the consecration takes place. As a sacrifice to the Master-on-High a reindeer

<sup>1</sup> W. Bogoras, "The Chukchee," *Jesup N. Pacific Exped.* vii. 351.

<sup>2</sup> W. Bogoras, "The Chukchee," *Jesup N. Pacific Exped.* vii. 352.

<sup>3</sup> W. Bogoras, "The Chukchee," *Jesup N. Pacific Exped.* vii. 351-352.

<sup>4</sup> W. Jochelson, "The Koryak," *Jesup N. Pacific Exped.* vi. 36.



is killed, and the fire-board, shaped in human form, is anointed with the blood and fat of the sacrifice. The mother then pronounces an incantation over it, appealing to Big Raven to set up this new fire-board as a guardian of the newly formed herd and hearth. "Now my reindeer will have their own herdsman," the elder son would say.<sup>1</sup>

In some of the tombs of ancient Egypt, in a hole made for it in the south wall, a lamp was placed. This lamp consisted of a brick of unbaked clay, which carried a reed with a wick inside it. There is a unique example of this lamp in the British Museum. The following formula had to be spoken over it: "It is I who hinder the sand from choking the secret chamber, and who repel that one who would repel him with the desert flame. I have set aflame the desert (?), I have caused the path to be mistaken. I am for the protection of Osiris N." This magic lamp, besides having a general protective purpose, "seems," says Dr. Gardiner, "to have been specially designed to prevent the burial chamber from becoming black with sand." Dr. Gardiner has kindly given me some further information about this lamp. He suggests that it may be merely a model torch, not a real one. In any case the reed would probably be a nozzle for the wick, and the wick must have been dipped in oil. The oil used for this purpose was castor oil. What the wicks were made of we do not know.<sup>2</sup>

#### *Fire as a Purifier.*

A use of fire allied to the foregoing may next be noticed.

Among the Nandi when disease breaks out in a herd a fire is made, and, after certain ceremonies have been gone through, the cattle are driven round the fire, and milk is poured over each animal.<sup>3</sup> Among the Chukchee evil

<sup>1</sup> W. Jochelson, "The Koryak," *Jesup N. Pacific Exped.* vi. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Nina de G. Davies and A. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt* (No. 82), p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, pp. 45-46.



spirits are driven off from the reindeer by means of a sacred fire. The herd is driven towards it from the leeward side, so that "the breath of the fire" may pass over them and so drive away the contamination they have contracted. This ceremony takes place at the end of the summer, when they return to their winter quarters.<sup>1</sup>

In the Malay Peninsula one of the ceremonies a mother has to undergo after childbirth is called "ascending the roasting place." The unfortunate woman is placed on a roughly made platform, under which a roaring fire is lighted. This fire is always kindled by the midwife, and to do this she takes a brand from the house-fire. When once kindled it must not be allowed to go out during the whole forty-four days during which the woman is secluded. Nothing must be cooked at it or the child will suffer. Custom demands that the patient should recline on this couch two or three times in the day for an hour or two, and, as the platform is only about two feet from the ground, the sufferings of the woman can be imagined, and, indeed, the effects have sometimes been terrible. By way of supplementing these drastic measures, one of the hearth-stones is sometimes wrapped up in a piece of flannel or in old rags and applied to the patient's stomach, thus "roasting" her still more effectually.<sup>2</sup> In China people fire crackers when an execution takes place. This has the effect of frightening away the headless ghost. A mandarin superintends the execution, and he safeguards himself by being carried in his sedan-chair over a fire lighted on the pavement. By this means he shakes off the troublesome ghost. For the same reason, after a funeral the mourners in China, and even those who have paid a visit of condolence to the house where there has been a death, often think it wise to purify themselves from the contamination by stepping over a fire. The same idea is found among

<sup>1</sup> W. Bogoras, "The Chukchee," *Jesup N. Pacific Exped.* vii. 349.

<sup>2</sup> W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 342-343.



the Tartars, who, when returning from a burial, step over a fire made for this purpose.<sup>1</sup>

Widows are also purified by fire. On the Slave Coast of West Africa stringent measures are taken. After being shut up for six months in the same room in which her husband is buried, a fire was lighted, into which red peppers were thrown. After the woman was nearly stifled in these pungent fumes, it was considered safe to allow her to mix again with the outside world. She would thus have been purified from the contamination of death.<sup>2</sup>

*Fire as an Omen and in Divination.*

Fire is also used as an omen and for divination purposes. Among the Banyoro of Central Africa no warrior will start on an expedition if his fire goes out during the night.<sup>3</sup> Much the same idea occurs in British New Guinea. While a party is away on a sago-trading expedition a fire must be kept burning in certain houses; should one of these fires go out the expedition would have bad luck.<sup>4</sup> In modern Greece omens are drawn from fire. The cracklings of logs on the fire generally mean that good news is on the way or that a friend is coming. On the other hand, troubles and anxieties may be expected if sparks and ashes fly out into the room. So, too, with a candle or lamp, should they splutter it is a prediction of misfortune. Marriage omens can also be obtained. If two leaves of basil are placed upon a hot coal and burn away quietly, the marriage will be a happy one; but if they crackle to a certain extent, the lives of the couple, who are represented by the two leaves, will be ruffled by quarrels. If, however,

<sup>1</sup>J. G. Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. ii. p. 17.

<sup>2</sup>J. G. Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. ii. pp. 18-19.

<sup>3</sup>J. Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu*, p. 83.

<sup>4</sup>C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, p. 309. See also A. C. Haddon, *Headhunters, Black, White and Brown*, p. 259.



the leaves crackle very much and fall apart, it shows such incompatibility of temper that the parties interested will be wise if they decide to separate before being bound by the marriage tie.<sup>1</sup>

In 1621 Elizabeth Sawyer was executed as a witch. One of the tests used to divine if she was the guilty person was by taking a handful of thatch off her cottage and setting fire to it. The witch would appear while the handful of thatch was burning.<sup>2</sup>

#### *Fire Ceremonially Extinguished.*

On certain occasions fires must be put out, since they have become contaminated by death or other unclean things; and fresh fire must be made free from such impurities. Among the Ekoi of West Africa, if a woman wishes to free herself of her husband without first discussing the question with him, she rakes out the fire and pours water over the glowing embers till they are quite extinguished. She then cuts her hair and paints herself all over with white paint. Thereupon she is free, and, even if she changes her mind and her husband wants her to come back, she can never return.<sup>3</sup>

Among the Banyoro of Central Africa, when the king died, all the fires had to be put out. For cooking necessary food a fire might be lighted by friction only, but directly the cooking was done, the fire had to be put out.<sup>4</sup> When the

<sup>1</sup>J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, pp. 328-329.

<sup>2</sup>Information given me by Miss M. M. C. Pollard. See Henry Goodcole, reprinted with a play based on this story, *Witch of Edmonton*, by Rowley, Dekker and Ford.

For those who would care to study further examples of divination, good examples of divination with a lamp in Ancient Egypt can be found in *Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, by F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson.

<sup>3</sup>A. Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup>J. Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu*, p. 51.



King of Uganda died, the fire in the temple of the god Kibuka was extinguished, and it was not relighted till the new king ascended the throne. Then new fire was made which was said to be obtained from a rock close by.<sup>1</sup> When a death occurs among the Ba-Thonga of South Africa the fire in the hut of the deceased is carried out on to the square in the village; here it is carefully protected and kept alight for five days. When the mourners disperse, it is put out by the medicine-man with sand or water. Meanwhile all the fires in the village are also put out, and, when a fresh supply has been made by the medicine-man, everyone takes embers from it to rekindle the fires on their own hearths. This, M. Junod says, is also a purification rite.<sup>2</sup>

*Fires Lighted on Special Occasions.*

Sometimes there are certain days in the year on which fire is lighted. It is not kept burning all the year, but only for special occasions, namely, at certain periodical festivals.

In ancient Egypt these lights sometimes take the form of burning candles. These candles are vari-coloured, sometimes red and white, and plaited. In the Tomb of Amenemhēt at Thebes, dating from the period of the 18th Dynasty, one of the wall paintings depicts him and his wife seated with the usual table of offerings before them. Approaching them from the side of the entrance are seven men, each with a lighted candle in one hand and a jar of ointment in the other. In this instance the candles are red and white. The texts, translated by Dr. Alan Gardiner, are as follows:

“[The birthday of] Osiris. [Kindling a light]; ointment [is given].”

“[The birthday of] Horus. Kindling [a light]; receiving illumination.”

<sup>1</sup>J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 304.

<sup>2</sup>H. A. Junod, *Life of a South African Tribe*, vol. i. p. 135.



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"[The birthday of Isis. Kindling a light]; receiving illumination."

"The birthday of Nephthys. Kindling a light; ointment is given."

"The day of the New Year. Kindling a light. The eye of Horus is vigilant for thy protection."

"The day of 'Uniting the *Kas*.' Kindling a light. The eye of Horus is vigilant [for the protection of the scribe] Amenemhēt."

"A light for the use of every day, illuminating the road of darkness for the scribe who reckons the grain, the steward Amenemhēt, everywhere that he goes."

Here six important festivals are mentioned, all falling just before and at the beginning of the New Year. The day of the "Uniting of the *Kas*" was, says Dr. Gardiner, "the important festival of Khoiak, originally celebrated in the fifth month, and possibly the reminiscence of an ancient political Act of Union." The candle would be lighted at dead of night before the niche with the statues.<sup>1</sup>

In modern Egypt lighted lanterns are placed on the graves on two Mohammedan feasts—the one following Ramadan, called the Little 'Īd, and on one two months later, called the Great 'Īd.<sup>2</sup>

The Jewesses of Palestine have three important duties to attend to—the lighting of the Sabbath candles, the throwing of a lump of dough on to the fire on the eve of the Sabbath, and the observance of regulations concerning ceremonial uncleanness. Suffering in childbirth is the result of neglecting these duties.<sup>3</sup> These Sabbath candles are very similar in form to those in use among the ancient Egyptians, as depicted in the tomb of Amenemhēt. They are of two or more different colours and are plaited. It

<sup>1</sup> For this and other examples see Nina de G. Davies and A. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt*, pp. 96-98; pls. xxii-xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Information kindly given me by Mr. Allam, Queen's College, Oxford.

<sup>3</sup> R. C. Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, p. 119.



is an interesting example of the persistence of *form*, even if the material they are made of is perhaps not quite similar.

*New Fire.*

This is an ancient and widely spread rite. By the end of a certain time the fire is thought to have become stale; or, if disease has broken out, it has become contaminated, and new fire must be made. On these occasions the old-fashioned or more primitive methods of fire-making are resorted to.

In the south-western parts of Ireland when any disease or epidemic broke out fire was asked from the priest's house. All other fires were put out, and with this holy fire all the peasants' hearth-fires were rekindled. This was thought to avert the pestilence. If the priest refused their request for fire, the people then endeavoured to obtain it from the "happiest man"—he being supposed to be the man with the highest character in the parish.<sup>1</sup>

At the festival of the New Fruits among the Kaffirs of Natal and Zululand, the pot in which these new fruits are cooked is a special one, and it must be placed on a new fire made by a magician. The sticks used by him for the production of this fire belong only to the chief, and are called "husband and wife"; they are made of a special kind of wood called *Uzwati*. When the magician has produced the fire, the fire-sticks are returned to the chief himself, for no other hand must touch them. They are then put away till the following year. When the festival is over, the pot is put away with the fire-sticks, and the fire is carefully extinguished. Among the Creek Indians of North America at a similar festival all the fires were put out. New fire was made by the priest, who exhorted the people to observe all their old customs and ceremonies,

<sup>1</sup>Quoted by R. Brough Smith in *Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. i. note on p. 405.



saying that the new divine fire had purged away the sins of the past year. He told the women that if they had left any of the old fire burning, or if they were in any way impure, they must immediately depart "lest the divine fire should spoil both them and the people." Some of this new fire was then placed outside the holy ground and the women carried it home, and by it rekindled their own hearths. Sometimes this fire was carried for several miles.<sup>1</sup>

Among all Slavic people the hearth-fire is sacred, it is never allowed to go out, and, should it do so, it is regarded as a great calamity. On certain festivals new fire is made, but the most highly prized of all is the "living fire." The methods of making this fire are interesting, as they are the more primitive processes of fire-making which were commonly used in the past, but are now survivals, used only for ceremonial purposes. In the mountains of Old Serbia two children are employed to make this fire—a boy and a girl of from eleven to fourteen years old. They are led into a perfectly dark chamber, where they have to strip off all their clothes, and are not allowed to speak a word. Two pieces of wood are handed to each of them, and by friction fire is produced, tinder, of course, being used. This fire is dedicated to sacred uses only.<sup>2</sup>

This idea of new fire at certain periods has been taken up by the Christian Church, and now forms part of the established ritual. On Holy Saturday, in the Roman Catholic Church, new fire is made. All the lights in the church having been extinguished for Good Friday, fresh fire, usually kindled with flint and steel, is made outside the church. This fire is blessed by the priest and is carried into the building, and the lamps and candles are lighted from it.

The following information I obtained from the Rev. V. W. Lucas, who has kindly allowed me to make use of

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn and the Wild*, vol. ii. pp. 73-74.

<sup>2</sup> *Intern. Archiv. für Ethnogr.* xiii. 1900, pl. i. fig. 1.



it for this paper. In the diocese of Zanzibar, in many of the Anglican churches belonging to the Universities' Mission in Central Africa, new fire is made on Holy Saturday. Here the early form of fire-production is resorted to—that process known as drilling. This fire is made outside the church, or just inside the porch. A candle that has been blessed is lighted from this new fire and is taken into the church. From this candle all the lights in the church are lighted. The natives for miles round come to get fire from this fresh supply and take it back to their huts, having previously extinguished their old fires.

There is an interesting custom which has been carried out with great regularity in this country until the outbreak of the war. The lacemakers of Bedfordshire on the 6th December celebrate what is said to be the introduction of lacemaking into England by Queen Catharine of Aragon. It is called "Wetting the Candleblock." In old days, before the use of gas for lighting purposes, the lacemakers, when daylight failed, had to fall back on candles for light. The candle was stuck in a socket in the centre of a square stool of convenient height, and at each of the four corners a flask of water, corked and turned upside down, was fixed in a socket. The light being reflected thus through water was intensified. At this festival of "Wetting the Candleblock" the four oldest lacemakers in a village come together and use this old method of illumination. They sit round the candleblock and work on their pillows. The candle is always lighted by flint and steel as in former days. After working for some time they receive visitors, and several join together and have tea. Afterwards there is the general "cut off" and "set up," and drink of "Meytheagle" to the good old days. I was fortunate enough to obtain from Mr. Mulford, of Far Cotton, Northampton, an old steel for striking fire. It had been in use in a family of lacemakers for several generations, and had,



I understood from him, been used in later years in this ceremony. Mr. Mulford has been most kind in obtaining the details of this yearly festival for me. I presented the steel to the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, where it is now to be seen among many other ceremonial fire-making appliances which have been collected from different parts of the world. I believe a very similar custom was practised by the lacemakers in Buckinghamshire. Up to now I have not been able to find out any details about this locality. There is no such festival, apparently, in Devonshire, where I have made inquiries.

I should like to draw attention to a custom in Nubia which takes place after a birth. All the information I have I obtained from my brother, Mr. Aylward M. Blackman, who had just heard of the custom, but could not get any further details. An open saucer lamp of pottery is filled with oil and the wick is made of the umbilical cord. This lamp is lighted and is placed on the Nile to float down the river. It would be interesting to obtain more particulars of this custom, if possible.

### *Fire as a Fertility Charm.*

The house-fire is among many people looked upon as sacred, the exclusive possession of the family, the place where the woman reigns supreme. Perhaps this has given rise to the idea of its power as a charm to ensure children.

In the old days the Hindu led his bride round the fire, saying the following words: "Mayest thou give back, Agni, to the husband the wife, together with the offspring."<sup>1</sup>

One of the ancient Parsi books says that the house that does not keep the fire properly burning has less pregnancy

<sup>1</sup>J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art*, vol. ii. p. 230, quoting from the *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxix. trans. by H. Oldenburg, vol. i. p. 283.



of women in it.<sup>1</sup> Even now among the Parsis a fire or lamp is a symbol of the continuation of a line of offspring. There is a saying among them as follows: "May your lamp be always burning." This means, "May your son live long, and may your line of descent continue."<sup>2</sup>

Miss Czaplicka, in her book *Aboriginal Siberia*, mentions a similar idea among the Buryats (Neo-Siberians). Two or three days after a birth there is a feast, at the end of which a fire is made where the birth took place; the father, with all his guests, gather round this fire and they spit into it a liquid called *salamata*, made from meal and oil, all crying out together: "Give more happiness! Give a son!" This is said three times.<sup>3</sup> These people dread being childless, and a man without a child will say, "The fire of my house will go out." "May thy fire be extinguished!" is the strongest oath used by these people.

Very stringent measures were taken by the Panjâbi woman to obtain children. She would burn down some neighbour's house. Nowadays such violent acts are prohibited; so she takes a little straw from seven thatches and burns it.<sup>4</sup> The Slavonian bride when she enters her husband's house is conducted three times round the hearth. She then pokes the fire, saying, "As many sparks spring up, so many cattle, so many male children shall enliven the new house."<sup>5</sup>

### *Fire in Relation to Death.*

We have seen that at birth, on the threshold of life, fire protects the helpless infant from evil spirits. So, too, at

<sup>1</sup> *Pahlavi-Parsi Books*, x. 4, xii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Hastings' *Dict. of Rel. and Ethics*, art. "Birth," by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.

<sup>3</sup> P. 139.

<sup>4</sup> W. Crooke, *Folklore of Northern India*, p. 226, quoting from *North Indian Notes and Queries*, i. p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> Prof. Vl. Titelbach, "Das Feuer beiden Balkan slaven," *Intern. Archiv. für Ethnog.* xiii. 1900, p. 1.



the end of life it lights up the road for the departing soul.

When a Hindu reaches the point of death, a lamp made of flint is placed in his hands to guide his ghost to the realm of Yama. This journey is supposed to take three hundred and sixty days, so an offering of that number of lamps is made. The south is the realm of death, so the lamps are placed facing that way. This is done at no other time, and no one will even sleep or have their house-door opening towards that ghastly quarter of the sky.<sup>1</sup> In Roumania, at the present day, no dying person must be allowed to pass away in the dark. As the moment of dissolution draws near, he must hold a lighted candle or taper in his hand, which will keep evil spirits from tampering with his soul, and also will enable his spirit to find its way to heaven.<sup>2</sup>

In Longfellow's *Hiawatha* the Indians of Lake Superior summoned the spirit of Hiawatha's brother from "Underneath the Big-Sea-Water." His spirit came to the door of the wigwam at their cry, but was not allowed to enter. Through the door they handed him a glowing ember from the hearth and a burning firebrand. They made him ruler in the Land of Spirits, and told him to kindle camp-fires to light all those that died on their solitary journey "to the Land of the Hereafter."

#### *Fire and Lamps Placed on Graves.*

Even after death fire was required to light the soul of the deceased. Part of an inscription in the Tomb of Paheri at El Kab runs thus: "Mayest thou voyage according to the bent of thy desire; mayest thou go forth every morning and betake thyself home (?) every evening; may a light be lighted for thee at night-time until the light (of the sun)

<sup>1</sup> W. Crooke, *Folklore of Northern India*, vol. ii. p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> G. Basil Barham, quoted in *The Observer*, April 9th, 1916.



rises upon thy breast.”<sup>1</sup> The date of this tomb is early 18th Dynasty.

In Australia, among some of the northern tribes, after the flesh of the deceased has been eaten, the bones are wrapped in bark cloth, and are placed in a forked stick stuck upright in the centre of a small, cleared space, which is surrounded by a circle of sand with an opening at one side. Inside this circle a fire is made and is kept burning. It has to be ceremonially lighted by friction of wood. No one but the father and mother of the dead person may go near it, and all the fire-sticks are sacred and may not be removed. A special name is given to this fire (*koaka*) to distinguish it from an ordinary fire (*pui-uka*). It is regarded as being *kurta-kurta* (taboo). The spirit comes and hovers over it, and is sometimes seen standing near it by the father and mother.<sup>2</sup>

In some Australian tribes fires are placed on graves for a different purpose. The relations fear the return of the spirit; so the head of the deceased is cut off before interment, after which the body is buried in a squatting attitude. On the top of the grave a fire is lighted, in which the head is roasted. This fire is kept up until the head is thoroughly burnt and broken up; then it is allowed to go out. The idea is that the spirit rises out of the grave to endeavour to follow its tribe; but, being headless, it cannot see, and gropes about to find the missing head. While it is searching about, it gets burnt by the fire, which frightens it so much that it retires to its grave immediately and gives no further trouble.<sup>3</sup>

In Madagascar an earthen dish filled with burning cow-dung is placed at the head of the grave, at which

<sup>1</sup> J. J. Tylor and F. Ll. Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab*.

<sup>2</sup> Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 549.

<sup>3</sup> F. C. Urquhart, *J.-A.-I.* vol. 14, 1884, p. 88.



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the dead person may warm himself, should he feel cold.<sup>1</sup>

In modern Greece there is a custom of keeping alight the "Unsleeping Lamp." This light is kept burning sometimes for forty days, sometimes for three years, either in the death-chamber or on the grave. Sometimes a lantern is used, at other times a lamp. When the body is laid out in the chamber of death, candles and lamps are lighted and placed at the head and foot of the corpse. They are kept burning until the funeral procession starts. Either these same lights, or other tapers or candles lighted from them, are carried in the procession to the grave, and here "the unsleeping lamp" is lighted with the same fire that was burning in the house. This lamp is said to give light to the spirit, should it wander at night to its former earthly home. These lamps are kept burning till the body is thought to have entirely decayed—this period being forty days in some parts of Greece and three years in others.<sup>2</sup> A popular dirge runs thus:

"And within forty days they (the dead) are severed joint from joint, their bright hair falls away, their dark eyes fall out, and asunder go trunk and head."<sup>3</sup>

Another dirge runs as follows. In this case the dead man speaks to his lady-love:

"And when the priests with solemn song march toward the grave  
with me,  
Steal thou out from thy mother's side and light me torches  
three;  
And when the priests shall quench again those lights for me—  
ah then,  
Then, like the breath of roses sweet, thou passest from my ken."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rev. James Sibree, *Madagascar*, p. 291.

<sup>2</sup> J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, p. 508.

<sup>3</sup> Bern. Schmidt, "Lieder, Märchen, Sagen," etc., *Folksong*, No. 33, quoted by J. C. Lawson, p. 486.

<sup>4</sup> J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, p. 511.



There is a fairly general belief among the Greek peasants that connection between the dead and this world is not broken off at death, but continues until the body is quite dissolved, and so long the lamp is kept burning.<sup>1</sup>

We have now seen what an important part fire plays in the life of mankind all over the world, from the threshold of life to its close, even following the departing spirit into the Great Hereafter. The survey and analysis of its ceremonial uses is an immense subject, and it is impossible to deal with it at all adequately in a brief space of time. But if this small and very unworthy contribution to a great subject should prove of any use or interest to others more capable of doing justice to it I shall feel amply rewarded, and in the meantime beg to thank the Society very heartily for allowing me to bring the matter before their notice.

<sup>1</sup>J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, p. 511.





## THE FOLKLORE OF SHAKESPEARE.

BY HENRY B. WHEATLEY, D.C.L.

(*Read at a Meeting of the Folklore Society, 21st June, 1916.*)

THE folklore to be found in the works of Shakespeare forms a subject of the greatest interest, the illustration of which has by no means been exhausted. There is plenty of material for a systematic treatment which would present a handbook of great value, but much of this material does not lie on the surface, and requires research to discover allusions that are not at once manifest.<sup>1</sup>

Shakespeare was the first great folklorist who went to the very source of the learning of the folk. Others had done much, but he laid down the rules. He was a conscientious collector who did not invent, but saw the inherent beauty of the popular mythology, and then presented it to the world with all the gorgeousness and beauty which he alone could give it. This he did most completely in his presentation of the fairies, when he rejected the legends of antiquity related by learned authors, who generally confused the elves with the fiends and familiars of the sorcerers. Although at times Shakespeare made use of literary sources, such as

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Thiselton Dyer's volume contains much useful information, and is helpful in elucidation of passages that have been unexplained or misunderstood. *Three Notelets on Shakespeare* (1865), by the late Mr. W. J. Thoms, the founder of our Society, and the inventor of its name, contains a charming essay on fairies. A chapter on "Folklore and Superstitions," by Prof. H. Littledale, in the great work, *Shakespeare's England*, published by the Clarendon Press since the reading of this paper, is full of information presented with much freshness.



the writings of Reginald Scot and Bishop Harsnet, and copied names of evil spirits from their pages, he still gave overwhelming prominence to "Elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes and groves" (*Tempest*, v. 1).

*Midsummer Night's Dream* may be said to be the Bible of the elves, and what is omitted in the description of their habits there can be obtained from some of the other plays. Michael Drayton, in his beautiful poem *Nymphidia* (1627), follows Shakespeare in quite the same spirit, although he seems to have gone beyond him in inventing names for fairies.

Shakespeare's folklore may be broadly divided into eight classes: 1. Fairy elves. 2. Nymphs and other classical spirits. 3. Devils and evil spirits. 4. Monsters. These are all supernatural beings. 5. Witches. 6. Magicians. 7. Ghosts and apparitions. 8. Dreams. Nos. 5 to 8 are connected with human life.

### 1. *Fairy Elves.*

*Mortal or immortal.* It is difficult to adopt a satisfactory nomenclature for these creatures of imagination. They have been called spirits, but although the word spirit is sometimes used to express the vital principle in man and animal, one feels reluctant to call a soulless being a spirit. The variant "sprite" therefore seems more appropriate in this case.

The fundamental difference between the folklore tradition and the literary treatment of fairies, mixed up with classical learning, is that in the latter case they are part of a system of evil spirits as opposed to the folklore assumption of mischievous soulless creatures.

There has been a battle royal among the learned on such matters as whether the fairies were mortal or not. Human mortals are several times referred to in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and this caused Steevens to opine that



there were fairy mortals as well, and he adds, "Fairies were not human but they were subject to mortality. It appears from the romance of Sir Huon of Bordeaux that Oberon himself was mortal."

The cantankerous Ritson would have none of this. He writes: "A fairy addresses Bottom the weaver: 'Hail, mortal, hail!' which sufficiently shows she was not so herself." Further, Ritson says: "The fairies have already called themselves spirits, ghosts or shadows, and consequently they never died—a position at the same time of which there is every kind of proof that a fact can require."

*Diminutive Creatures.* Fairies were of a diminutive size, but could vary their size as suited them. They could make themselves visible or invisible as they wished. Ariel gives some indication of his stature when he sings:

"In a cowslip's bell I lie."

Their size is one of their chief characteristics, and Titania alludes to it in her address to her train of fairies (*M.N.D.* ii. 2. 1).

*Gambols.* In dealing with the little people we must place their dancing in a prominent position, and not forget the fairy rings. We are told that the elves continued their gambols till sunrise:

"*Puck.* Fairy king, attend and mark;  
I do hear the morning lark.

*Oberon.* Then, my queen, in silence sad,  
Trip we after the night's shade."

The fairies of the *Merry Wives* are only sham fairies, but Anne Page, as queen, is allowed to explain the true ritual.

*Household Duties.* Cleanliness was highly prized by fairies, who pinched the sluts for their neglect. Belarius (*Cymbeline*, iii. 6) infers that fairies take no food when he says:

"But that it eats our victuals, I should think  
Here were a fairy."



Imogen immediately appears to confess that she ate the food, but we have ample evidence that the fairies expected food as a reward for their household services. Puck remarks :

“ And at our stamp here o’er and o’er one falls.”

Johnson ridicules the effect of the stamp of an elf, and suggests the substitution of stump for stamp, but Oberon himself says further on :

“ Come my queen, take hand with me,  
And rock the ground whereon these sleepers be.”

*Changelings.* A changeling was the cause of the quarrel between Oberon and Titania, and the various references in the plays to the cruel robbery of infants by the elves seem natural when we are living in an atmosphere of fairies. When we find Henry IV., intent on State affairs, expressing his bitter disappointment at his son’s profligate behaviour with a wish that he was a changeling, we see how deeply the poet was charged with knowledge of the superstitions of the folk that such a thought should have occurred to him :

“ O that it could be prov’d  
That some night-tripping fairy had exchang’d  
In cradle-clothes our children where they lay,  
And call’d mine Percy, his Plantagenet !  
Then would I have his Harry, and he mine ;  
But let him from my thoughts.”

1 *Henry IV.* i. 1. 87.

*King and Queen of Fairies.* In turning to the chief characters among the fairies, Oberon and Titania come first from pride of place. Shakespeare lavished upon them the richest of his wondrous verse, and they interest us in all they say or do, but they are altogether too regal to be representative fairies. Oberon by right of fame was a true king, and his renown was widespread, but Titania is the poet’s own creation, and her name was taken from a classic



source. The queen of popular tradition was Mab, and she was not neglected by Shakespeare, who makes Mercutio describe her with so much minuteness and vividness. She is quite unlike Titania, and is presented as a sort of feminine Puck, as full of mischief as he was.

*Puck and Ariel.* The two outstanding fairies who were painted with loving care by Shakespeare are Puck and Ariel, and a wonderful pair they stand before us.

Puck was the generic name for an elf, and his creator has gathered together all the elfish characteristics known to him, and welded them together to form the fairy hero of *Midsummer Night's Dream*. There are many pictorial illustrations to Shakespeare's plays, but few of them are successful. There is, however, one that is perfect: Reynolds's Puck is an immortal portrait of our "gentle Puck," our "sweet Puck"—Shakespeare's Puck. Puck is the concentrated essence of elfdom, but Ariel is a fresh creation from Shakespeare's heart and brain. Both are fairies (soulless beings), but the circumstances that formed them have been widely different. Puck is of the earth—earthly, but Ariel is of the air—airy. Puck is the attendant upon Oberon, and in constant personal intercourse with fairies, but Ariel has no fairy companions, only certain sprites who attend him and do his biddings. He is the servant of the magician Prospero, who rules him severely but loves him. This is evident from such expressions as "my brave spirit," "my bird," "my tricky spirit," "my industrious servant," "my Ariel," "my quaint Ariel," "my fine Ariel," "my dainty Ariel," "my delicate Ariel." Ariel understands human feelings, though by the disability of his nature he is unable to rise to them. He tells Prospero that his affections would go out to others were he human. Some of the most exquisite songs Shakespeare ever wrote were sung by this beautiful ethereal being, who remains unsurpassed in the realms of fairyland.



2. *Nymphs, Naiads, Nereids, Mermaids.*

These form a class of supernatural beings which cannot well be explained, though they have formed the stock-in-trade of poets for many ages, as most of these poets held different views respecting them. They are described in classical dictionaries as goddesses and as inferior divinities. All are alluded to by Shakespeare, but they have little to do with genuine folklore, although from one point of view they are in touch with Ariel. There are nymphs of the hills, forests, and caves, of springs, streams, and rivers; and Ariel sings of "Sea-nymphs [who] hourly ring his knell" (*Tempest*, i. 2. 402). The sprite Iris, when she sings "You nymphs call'd naiads of the wandering brooks" (*Tempest*, iv. 128), is quite in accord with classical usage.

Nereids were nymphs of the sea, daughters of Nereus. They are described as attendant on Cleopatra:

"Her gentlewomen, like the Nereids,  
So many mermaids."

*Antony and Cleo.* ii. 2. 211.

The nereids were not mermaids, for a piece of statuary in the Naples Museum shows one borne along by a triton, and she has legs like an ordinary woman.

The sea captain tells Viola of her brother Sebastian:

"Where, like Arion on the dolphin's back,  
I saw him hold acquaintance with the waves  
So long as I could see." *Twelfth Night*, i. 2. 15.

This refers to the story of Arion, the Greek musician, who was saved from drowning by dolphins drawn to him by his sweet singing. One of them, taking him on his back, carried him safe to land.

In *Midsummer Night's Dream* (i. 2. 15) Oberon says:

"Since once I sat upon a promontory,  
And heard a mermaid, on a dolphin's back,  
Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath  
That the rude sea grew civil at her song."



A mermaid might have worked upon the feelings of a dolphin by the sweetness of her voice, siren as she was, but one would suppose a mermaid could take care of herself on the sea without the help of a dolphin.

Both these references seem to have been suggested by Gascoigne's *Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth* in 1575. A triton, in likeness of a mermaid, came towards the Queen to declare the woeful distress of the Lady of the Lake; also Proteus appeared sitting on a dolphin's back, and then assumed the character of Arion.

### 3. *Devils and Evil Spirits.*

The literature of evil spirits is a considerable one, and Shakespeare has many references to these devils mostly taken from the works of Reginald Scot and Bishop Harsnet. One of the particularities of the old writers on Demonology was to catalogue the colours of the spirits. Scot specially mentions white, black, grey, and red spirits. Some less instructed writers refer to blue and green spirits, but these colours were not acknowledged by the chief authorities.

In *Macbeth* (iv. 1.), when Hecate calls for song, the only stage direction in the first folio is "Music and a song, 'Black spirits'," etc. In Davenant's version of *Macbeth* (1674) the song is printed in full from Middleton's *The Witch* (Act v. sc. 2), as follows:

"Black spirits and white,  
Red spirits and gray,  
Mingle, mingle, mingle,  
You that mingle may."

Dr. Aldis Wright was mistaken when he said that Davenant substituted 'Blue' for 'Red' in the second line. Rowe however did print 'Blue.'

Falstaff says: "That same mad fellow of the north, Percy, and he of Wales, that gave Amaimon the bastinado"



(1 *Henry IV.* ii. 4. 370). This was one of the four chief devils described by Scot (*Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 1584, Book 15, chap. 3). He was king of the east. The other three were Gorson, king of the south; Zimimar, king of the north; and Goap, king of the west. These, however, are not mentioned by Shakespeare. Scot gives the hours when these devils may be "restrained from dooing of hurt." He also gives a long list of important devils: "Marbas alias Barbas is a great President, and appeareth in the forme of a mighty lion." This devil is represented by Barbason in *Henry V.* (ii. 1. 57), where Nym says: "I am not Barbason, you cannot conjure me." Page also mentions him (*Merry Wives*, ii. 2. 311) when he cries out in anger, "Amaimon sounds well, Lucifer well, Barbason well, yet they are devils' additions, the names of fiends."

Cerberus, "a valiant marquesse."

Scot's *Discoverie*.

"Great Hercules is presented by this imp  
Whose club kill'd Cerberus." *L.L.L.* v. 2. 593.

*King Lear* contains the names of many "foul fiends," and also of some who were not fiends at all, as Flibbertigibbet, who was a sprite and companion of the elves, and probably Hobbididance, whose name is like Hobgoblin. Most of these names occur in Harsnet's *Declaration of Popish Impostures*, 1603. Edgar says:

"Five fiends have been in poor Tom at once; of lust, as Obidicut; Hobbididance, prince of dumbness; Mahu, of stealing; Modo, of murder; and Flibbertigibbet, of mopping and mowing!"  
iv. 1. 62.

"Peace, Smulkin; peace, thou fiend!" iii. 4. 146.

"The Prince of Darkness is a gentleman:  
Modo he's call'd, and Mahu." iii. 4. 148.

"Frateretto calls me; and tells me Nero is an angler in the lake of darkness."  
iii. 6. 7.



Demon is only used once by Shakespeare as a synonym of devil :

“If that same demon that hath gull’d thee thus  
Should with his lion gait walk the whole world,  
He might return to vasty Tartar [Tartarus] back.”

*Henry V.* ii. 2. 121.

To him the demon was the genius or good angel, and the good or evil familiar spirit.

“*Ferdinand to Prospero.* the strong’st suggestion  
Our worser genius can, shall never melt  
Mine honour into lust.”

*Tempest*, iv. 1. 27.

“*Soothsayer to Antony.* Thy demon, that’s thy spirit which  
keeps thee, is  
Noble, courageous, high, unmatchable,  
Where Caesar’s is not ; but near him thy angel  
Becomes a fear, as being o’erpower’d, therefore  
Make space enough between you.”

*Antony and Cleo.* ii. 3. 19.

#### 4. *Monsters.*

The word Sagittary, meaning a centaur who shot with a bow and was horrible to look at, is used in two senses by Shakespeare, which has confused some of the commentators. Agamemnon, referring to the help given by this monster to the Trojans, says :

“the dreadful Sagittary  
Appals our numbers.”

*Troilus and Cressida*, v. 5. 14.

The other reference is to the arsenal in Venice, known as the Sagittary from the figure of the archer monster over the entrance.

Iago says :

“Lead to the Sagittary the raised search.”

*Othello*, i. 1. 159.



Othello, in a later scene, says :

“ I do beseech you,  
Send for the lady to the Sagittary.” i. 3. 115.

The name is the same as that of the bowmen in the Roman army, known as Sagittarii.

The three Gorgons, the sight of whose snaky hairs turned beholders to stone, have a passing mention :

“ Though he be painted one way like a Gorgon,  
The other way’s a Man.”

*Antony and Cleopatra*, ii. 5. 116.

Medusa was mortal ; that was proved when Perseus cut off her head. The other two, not having a similar misfortune, were supposed to be immortal.

The Furies are referred to several times by Shakespeare. Até, the goddess of mischief, was connected with them, but they are often treated as something more than monsters, and appear as avengers of wrong.

“ Approach, ye Furies fell.” *M.N.D.* v. 289.

“ Seize on him, Furies, take him into torment.”

*Richard III.* i. 4. 37.

The Harpy was a monster with the face of a woman and the body of a bird of prey. Prospero says :

“ Bravely the figure of this harpy hast thou  
Performed, my Ariel.” *Tempest*, iii. 3. 83.

Benedick wildly likens Beatrice to a harpy and also to Até.

### 5. *Witches.*

I have placed the heading of witches here because the subject contains a line of demarcation between supernatural and human beings. The witches of *Macbeth* (the weird sisters) are uncanny creatures, belonging to the supernatural class, connected with the Scandinavian Norns. The ordinary witch was a human creature in league with the devil. The witches were mostly old ill-favoured women, but some



young women were often denounced by enemies, and suffered a cruel death. Charles Lamb says of *The Witch of Edmonton*, by Rowley, Decker & Ford: "Mother Sawyer differs from the hags of Middleton or Shakespeare. She is the plain, traditional, old woman witch of our ancestors: poor, deformed, and ignorant; the terror of villages, herself amenable to justice. That should be a hardy Sheriff, with the power of a county at his heels, that would lay hands upon the Weird Sisters."

It is only necessary to indicate a few points relating to witches, as the subject is too vast for incidental treatment. It is difficult to realise that human nature in a civilised society could sink to the execution of such frightful cruelties as are credibly related.

The literature of the subject is largely contained in two books: *The Discovery of Witchcraft*, by Reginald Scot (1584), and *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures under the pretence of Casting out Devils, practised by Edmunds, alias Weston, a Jesuit, and divers Roman Priests, his wicked assistants* (1603), by Samuel Harsnet, Bishop of Chichester, and afterwards Archbishop of York.

These two authors throw much light upon the subject, and have been found to be valuable illustrators of many passages in Shakespeare's plays. They are both unfair to the Roman Catholics, because they make them responsible for superstitions equally believed in by Protestants of the time.

Dr. Brinsley Nicholson reprinted Scot's work in 1886, and in his dedication to Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, he refers as follows to the author: "This work of an Elizabethan Englishman... whose honesty, intelligence and compassion fought against the cruel superstition and ignorance of his age." Scot, however, built up his case with an immense amount of information which shows a considerable leaning towards credulity.

Harsnet was more authoritative than Scot, for he printed



the copies of the several "Examinations and confessions of the parties pretended to be possessed and dispossessed by Weston the Jesuit and his adherents; set down word for word as they were taken upon oath before her Maiesties Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiasticall." The Bishop's book contains a full account of the various cases mentioned in the above. Much ill-considered controversy has taken place over the supposed connection of Shakespeare's witches with those introduced by Middleton in his play of *The Witch*. Lamb's criticism is most illuminating, and cannot be improved upon. Hazlitt was content to quote it in his *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays*, 1817, without any addition of his own:

"Though some resemblance may be traced between the charms in *Macbeth* and the incantations in this play, which is supposed to have preceded it, this coincidence will not detract much from the originality of Shakespeare. His witches are distinguished from the witches of Middleton by essential differences. These are creatures to whom man or woman plotting some dire mischief might resort for occasional consultation. Those originate deeds of blood, and begin bad impulses to men. From the moment that their eyes first meet with Macbeth's he is spell-bound. That meeting sways his destiny. He can never break the fascination. These witches can hurt the body, those have power over the soul."

Lamb was mistaken as to the date of the publication of *The Witch*. The play was printed for the first time in 1778. The original MS. is in the Bodleian Library among Malone's books. Much of the confusion as to the witches of Shakespeare and Middleton has arisen from Davenant having used some songs from *The Witch* in the altered *Macbeth* attributed to him, and published in 1674, six years after his death. It may be noted that Middleton, like Shakespeare, obtained the names of his devils from Scot's *Discovery*.



The qualities of the witch were very varied, and Shakespeare indicates her power and its limitations. Witches afflicted people with melancholy fits and loss of flesh.

“Weary sev’n-nights, nine times nine  
Shall he dwindle, peak and pine.” *Macbeth*, i. 3.

Or they exhausted the moisture of the body:

“I will drain him dry as hay.”

They had power over winds and tempests, but sometimes these powers were circumscribed:

“Though his bark cannot be lost,  
Yet it shall be tempest-toss’d.”

They had power to sell a wind, and sometimes they made a free gift of one. The second witch says:

“I’ll give thee a wind.”

Perhaps their greatest power was that of controlling the moon. Prospero says of Caliban:

“His mother was a witch  
That could control the moon.” *Tempest*, v. 1.

In the first act of this same play Gonzalo said:

“You are gentlemen of brave mettle; you would lift the moon out of her sphere.”

Douce refers us to a note in Adlington’s translation of *Apuleius* on this same subject: “Witches in old time were supposed to be of such power that they could put downe the moone by their inchauntment.” Douce quotes largely from the Latin poets on this point, and these myths are intimately connected with widespread beliefs relating to eclipses and other natural phenomena. The witch’s power of vanishing at will is specially referred to in *Macbeth*. When Banquo inquires respecting this disappearance, where the witches have gone, Macbeth answers:

“Into the air; and what seem’d corporal melted  
As breath into the wind.” i. 3.



On the other side, at cockcrow the witch's power ceased. Thus Marcellus speaks:

"No fairy takes, nor witch hath power to charm,  
So hallow'd and so gracious is the time." *Hamlet*, i. 1.

He that could draw blood from a witch was free:

"Devil, or devil's dam, I'll conjure thee:  
Blood will I draw on thee; thou art a witch."

1 *Henry VI.* i. 5. 6.

The "Wise Woman," a woman skilled in hidden arts, fortune-telling, palmistry, etc., is often mentioned in the literature of the time, and is very nearly allied to the witch. She is mentioned in *Twelfth Night* (iii. 4), and the Wise Woman of Brentford in *Merry Wives* is also called in the same play "the witch of Brentford."

#### 6. *Magicians.*

Magicians and sorcerers are so mixed up with supernatural devilry that it would be going over ground already paced in the previous divisions to describe them here, but Prospero, the great magician of Shakespeare, is so distinct a character that he cannot be entirely overlooked in the catalogue of folklore personages.

He was a magician with his familiar spirits, and his relations with one of these—the high-spirited Ariel—have already been referred to. Unlike the ordinary magician, his actions were beneficent and not evil. When, however, the time was come for giving up his occupation he was not loath to retire. His superhuman powers had their source in his garments, in his books of magic, and in his staff. These, therefore, he decided to destroy:

"Pluck my magic garments from me,—so;  
Lie there my art."

He thus commands. His magic book must be drowned:

"Deeper than did ever plummet sound  
I'll drown my book."



The staff, by which he could make his opponent's weapon drop, was broken and buried :

“ Bury it certain fathoms in the earth.”

Prospero is relieved when he has abjured his magic, as he says, in the Epilogue :

“ Now my charms are all o'erthrown,  
And what strength I have's mine own.”

Owen Glendower (1 *Henry IV.* iii. 1), like Prospero, claims to be an enchanter, but Hotspur denies his claim.

“ *Glen.* I can call spirits from the vasty deep.

Why, I can teach you, cousin, to command the devil.

*Hotspur.* And I can teach thee, coz, to shame the devil  
By telling truth.”

### 7. *Ghosts and Apparitions.*

A mine of information respecting the folklore of ghosts is to be found in the plays of Shakespeare. The apparitions of the most world-wide fame are those of Julius Caesar, who appeared to Brutus at Philippi (*J.C.* iv. 3), and Hamlet's father.

Pompey, in *Antony and Cleopatra* (ii. 6), refers to Julius Caesar, “who the good Brutus ghosted.” This is an uncommon verb used also by Burton in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*.

Hamlet's father was committed to Purgatory, and forbidden to tell the secrets of his prison-house ; but he had sufficient to tell of his “foul murder” and of his hard lot until his death had been avenged :

“ Doom'd for a certain term to walk the night,  
And for the day, confin'd to fast in fires  
Till the foul crimes, done in my days of nature,  
Are burn'd and purg'd away.”



He complained that he was "cut off in the blossoms of his sins, unhousel'd, disappointed, unanel'd." That is, he had not received the eucharist or extreme unction. Other spirits in the same case remained wanderers if they had not received funeral rites. We find note of unlaid ghosts in *Cymbeline*, and of enclosed ghosts, who are let free when the graves fly open :

"Now 'tis the time of night,  
That the graves, all gaping wide,  
Every one lets forth his sprite." *M.N.D.* v. 2.

Calphurnia, when she warns Caesar of his danger, tells him that aforetime she never gave way to any fear or superstition, "yet now they fright me."

"The graves have yawn'd, and yielded up their dead,  
And ghosts did shriek and squeal about the streets."  
*Julius Caesar*, ii. 2.

Horatio, referring to these portents, uses almost the same words :

"In the most high and palmy state of Rome,  
A little ere the mightiest Julius fell,  
The graves stood tenantless, and the sheeted dead  
Did squeak and gibber in the Roman street."  
*Hamlet*, i. 1.

These horrors seem to appeal to Shakespeare's imagination, and he frequently referred to them. The ghost of Hamlet's father is sometimes seen by all on the stage, and sometimes only by his son, but he will address no one but Hamlet. Banquo's ghost is seen only by Macbeth, who asks him to appear in any horrible form rather than as a ghost :

"Take any shape than that." *Macbeth*, iii. 4.

Ghosts disliked light, so Brutus's taper burned dim when Caesar's ghost appeared.

It was also a popular belief that the candle burned blue when an evil spirit was in the house. Richard III., in his



tent on Bosworth field, after he had been visited by a whole army of ghosts of those enemies he had destroyed, noticed that "the lights burn blue" (*Richard III.* v. 3).

Shakespeare uses the words exorcism, exorciser, and exorcist. Respecting this use, Monck Mason remarks: "The word exorcise and its derivatives are used by Shakespeare in an uncommon sense. In all other writers it means to lay spirits, but in these plays it invariably means to raise them.

Ligarius says:

"Thou like an exorcist has conjured up  
My mortified spirit." *Julius Caesar*, ii. 1.

In the funeral song in *Cymbeline* (iv. 2), which forms a dialogue between Guiderius and Arviragus after the supposed obsequies of Fidele (Imogen), we read:

"*Gui.* No exorciser harm thee!  
*Arv.* Nor no witchcraft charm thee!  
*Gui.* Ghost unlaid forbear thee!  
*Arv.* Nothing ill come near thee!"

In *All's Well that Ends Well* (v. 3) the King uses the word exorcist in a strange sense:

"Is there no exorcist  
Beguiles the truer office of mine eyes?  
Is't real, that I see?"

Johnson notes: "This word is used, not very properly, for enchanter."

Monck Mason is not entirely correct in his statement, as in two instances Shakespeare's exorcist both raises and lays a spirit.

Roger Bolingbroke in *2 Henry VI.* (i. 4) is styled in the *Dramatis Personæ* a conjuror, who acts with two priests named Hume and Southwell. He asks if the Duchess of Gloster will "behold and hear our exorcisms." He calls on Asmath and threatens, "till thou speak,



thou shalt not pass from thence," and afterwards he dismisses him :

"Descend to darkness and the burning lake :  
False fiend, avoid !"

In *Macbeth* (iv. 1) the apparition of an armed head raised by the witches' power, after having delivered his prophecy to Macbeth cries, "Dismiss me ;—enough," and then descends.

### 8. *Dreams.*

When the people believed in dreams as portents a great dread of them naturally existed. Malicious spirits tormented their victims, but the sleepers were guarded by the possession of relics and amulets of various kinds.

Imogen prays to be relieved "from fairies and the tempters of the night" (*Cymbeline*, ii. 2), and Banquo cries out :

"Restrain in me the cursed thoughts that Nature  
Gives way to in repose." *Macbeth*, ii. 1.

Shylock thought that when he dreamed of his money misfortune would overtake him :

"There's some ill a-brewing towards my rest  
For I did dream of money bags to-night."

*Merchant*, ii. 5.

Andromache says :

"My dreams will sure prove ominous to the day."

*Troilus and Cressida*, v. 3.

Mercutio makes merry over the dreams which Queen Mab mischievously put into the heads of those she visited and over the consequences thereof (*Romeo and Juliet*, i. 4).

Romeo himself rejoices over the good he hopes to attain by the reality of his dreams :

"My dreams presage some joyful news at hand."

"I dreamt my lady came and found me dead,  
(Strange dream ! that gives a dead man leave to think,)  
And breath'd such life with kisses in my lips,  
That I reviv'd, and was an emperor." *R. and J.* v. 1.



## THE CALENDAR.

The subject may be concluded by some notice of Shakespeare's Folk-lore of the various holy and famous days of the year.

Bottom is very anxious for a calendar, and cries :

“Look in the calendar, find out moonshine.”

*M.N.D.* iii. 1. 54.

Richard III. asks for a calendar, demanding :

“Who saw the sun to-day?”

*K. Richard III.* v. 3. 276.

Macbeth wishes

“this pernicious hour  
Stand aye accursed in the calendar.”

*Macbeth*, iv. i. 133.

“’Tis a lucky day, boy, and we’ll do good deeds on it.”

*Winter’s Tale*, Act iii. Sc. iii.

Brutus asks :

“Is not to-morrow, boy, the ides of March?”

*Lucius.* I know not, sir.

*Brutus.* Look in the calendar, and bring me word.”

The most important of these references is in *King John* (iii. i. 83):

“*Constance.* A wicked day and not a holy day!  
What hath this day deserv’d? what hath it done,  
That it in golden letters should be set  
Among the high tides [time] in the calendar?  
Nay, rather turn this day out of the week;  
This day of shame, oppression, perjury.”

In the various plays all the months, with the exception of the autumn ones (September, October and November) are specially alluded to. Shakespeare has also written something on most of the famous days, but many of these he has passed over lightly.



*January.*

Perdita refers to "blasts of January" "that blow you through and through" (*Winter's Tale*, iv. 4. 111).

"*Leonato.* You will never run mad, niece.

*Beatrice.* No, not till a hot January."

*Much Ado*, i. 1. 94.

1. Falstaff alludes with satiric touch to the once vast system of presentations on New Year's day when he says "I'll have my brains ta'en out and buttered, and give them to a dog for a New Year's gift" (*Merry Wives*, iii. 5).

6. *Twelfth Night* was the title Shakespeare gave to one of his plays, but it has nothing more to do with the festival than its original presentation on that anniversary. Pepys saw the comedy on Twelfth Night, 1663, but he thought it was "a silly play and not related at all to name or day."

*February.*

"*Don Pedro.* Good morrow, Benedick. Why, what's the matter  
That you have such a February face,  
So full of frost, of storm, and cloudiness?"

*Much Ado*, v. 4. 41.

14. Allusions to St. Valentine's day will be found both in *Hamlet* and *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

The reason for choosing St. Valentine as the patron of lovers has not come down to us, further than by assuming that the date marked the period for the mating of birds. The supposition that, being famous for the virtues of love and charity, he was properly chosen to take charge of lovers appears a somewhat weak one.

Ophelia sings :

"To-morrow is St. Valentine's day,  
All in the morning betime,  
And I a maid at your window  
To be your valentine."

*Hamlet*, iv. 5.



Duke Theseus says :

“ Good morrow, friends, St. Valentine is past ;  
Begin these birds but to couple now.”

This observation was very inappropriate, as he was speaking at midsummer ; but shortly before he had made an equally out-of-date remark when he suggested that the lovers who had been found asleep

“ Rose up early to observe  
The rite of May.”

These points have induced some critics to affirm that the dream really occurred on the eve of May Day, and that the title of *Midsummer Night* merely referred to the time of production, as it does in *Twelfth Night* and *Winter's Tale*.

*March.*

*Perdita.*

... daffodils,  
That come before the swallow dares, and take  
The winds of March with beauty. . . .

*Winter's Tale*, iv. 3.

*Hotspur.*

No more, no more : worse than the sun in March,  
This praise doth nourish agues. . . .

*Henry IV.* iv. i. iii.

1. *St. David's Day.* The day observed in honour of the patron saint of Wales has long been associated with the wearing of the leek in the hat as a national emblem.

The irascible Fluellen, in his talk with Henry V., infers that the custom originated at the battle of Crecy in 1346, but tradition affirms that St. David himself ordered the Welsh to wear a leek in their hats to distinguish them from Saxons. Fluellen tells the King :

“ I do believe your Majesty takes no scorn to wear the leek upon Saint Tavy's Day,”

to which Henry replies :

“ I wear it for a memorable honour,  
For I am Welsh, you know, good countryman.”

*King Henry V.* iv. 7.







The valiant Talbot says :

“God and St. George, Talbot and England’s right,  
Prosper our colours in the dangerous fight !”

1 *Henry VI.* iv. 2. 55.

The Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, while lamenting the death of Henry V., will have no lamentations on the battle-field, and says :

“Bonfires in France forthwith I am to make,  
To keep our great St. George’s feast withal.”

1 *Henry VI.* i. 1. 154.

The bastard Faulconbridge alludes to the popularity of St. George and the dragon as a tavern sign :

“Saint George, that swing’d the dragon, and e’er since  
Sits on his horse back at mine hostess’ door,  
Teach us some fence !”

*King John*, ii. 288.

### *May.*

The most popular month among the poets. The song beginning :

“As it fell upon a day  
In the merry month of May,”

has been attributed to Shakespeare, from having been printed in *The Passionate Pilgrini*, although it was written by Richard Barnfield. It has connected the adjective “merry” with May for all time. In *Love’s Labour Lost* (i. 1. 106) Biron says :

“At Christmas I no more desire a rose  
Than wish a snow in May’s new-fangled shows.”

The last word, which is not a good reading, has been changed by some to mirth.

In 1 *Henry IV.* (iv. 1. 101) we have :

“As full of spirit as the month of May.”

1. May day has been through many centuries full of popular celebrations, and it was only at the end of the



nineteenth century that the frolics of Jack in the Green died out completely. The selection of a Queen of the May has, however, been partially revived in some places. Shakespeare frequently refers to the May-day and its rites—the May pole, the May dew, and the Morris dance. He also uses the “May-morn” in a metaphoric sense:

“Is in the very May morn of his youth,  
Ripe for exploits and mighty enterprises.”

*Henry V.* i. 2. 120.

The search for May dew was the first observance of the day:

“*Theseus.* No doubt, they rose up early to observe  
The rite of May.” *M.N.D.* iv. 1. 137.

Again, the porter in *Henry VIII.* (v. 4. 15) says:

“’Tis as much impossible  
To scatter ’em as ’tis to make ’em sleep  
On May-day morning.”

Later in the day the morris dancers come upon the scene: “A morris for May-day” (*All’s Well*, ii. 2. 25). Maid Marian, who is spoken of disrespectfully by Falstaff, was queen or “the lady of the May.”

The first of May was also the day dedicated to St. Philip and St. James. In *Measure for Measure* there is a reference to this day:

“A year and a quarter old come Philip and Jacob.”  
iii. 2. 214.

The Dauphin Charles says to Joan of Arc:

“Helen, the mother of great Constantine,  
Nor yet Saint Philip’s daughters, were like thee.”  
1 *Henry VI.* i. 2. 143.

This contains a reference to Acts of the Apostles (xxi. 9): “And this same man had four daughters, virgins which did prophesy.”



*June.*

"He was but as the cuckoo is in June,  
 Heard, not regarded." I *Henry IV.* iii. 2. 75.

24. *Midsummer day* and *Midsummer eve* (the latter also known as *St. John's eve*) had their special associations with the lighting of bonfires and meetings of the Midsummer Watch. Midsummer has been supposed to be a favourable season for madness. Malvolio's absurd conduct is described by Olivia as "Very midsummer madness" (*Twelfth Night*, iii. 4. 61).

*July.*

"He makes a July's day short as December."  
*Winter's Tale*, i. 2. 169.

The dog-days during July and part of August, named after the rising and setting of Sirius, called the dog-star, but popularly supposed to be connected with the madness of dogs.

"Twenty of the dog-days now reign."  
*Henry VIII.* v. 5. 43.

25. *St. James the Great (of Compostela)*. The patron saint of Spain. Helena writes to the Countess at Rousillon:

"I am Saint Jacques' pilgrim, thither gone:  
 Ambitious love hath so in me offended."  
*All's Well*, iii. 4. 4.

The next scene is at Florence, where Helena enters disguised like a pilgrim. The widow asks whither she is bound:

"*Helena.* To Saint Jacques le grand.  
 Where do the palmers lodge, I do beseech you?"

This has puzzled the commentators, and Staunton suggests the possibility of some local Italian saint being intended, but there seems to be no reason for such a suggestion as *St. James the Great* is clearly referred to. *Santiago de Compostela* was evidently intended, although Shakespeare found it more convenient to locate this shrine



in Italy than in Spain. The name of "San Giacomo Apostolo" was not understood by the Spanish people, who corrupted it into Compostela, which was added to the Spanish name of Saint James (Sant Jago); the place of pilgrimage being known by the united names.

26. *St. Anne, mother of the Virgin Mary.* Her name is twice used by Shakespeare. Sly swears by St. Anne in *Taming of the Shrew* as the Clown does in *Twelfth Night*.

*August.*

"You sunburn'd sicklemen, of August weary,  
Come hither from the furrow, and be merry."

*Tempest*, iv. 134.

1. *Lammas Day.* Lady Capulet and the Nurse confer on the age of Juliet. Nurse asks, "How long is it now to Lammas tide?" to which question Lady Capulet answers, "A fortnight and odd days." Nurse. "Even or odd, of all days in the year, come Lammas-eve at night shall she be fourteen" (*Romeo and Juliet*, i. 3).

In the Roman calendar the first of August is dedicated to Faith, Hope, and Charity. Ophelia sings, "By Gis and Saint Charity" (*Hamlet*, iv. v. 59).

12. *St. Clare, first abbess of the Poor Clares.* Isabella wishes "a more strict restraint upon the sisterhood, the votarists of Saint Clare" (*Measure for Measure*, i. 4. 5).

24. *St. Bartholomew.* "Like flies at Bartholomew-tide, blind though they have their eyes" (*Henry V.* v. 2. 336).

The saturnalia of Bartholomew Fair at Smithfield took place at Bartholomew-tide, and one of the chief delicacies sold there was roast pig. Doll Tearsheet calls Falstaff "a little tidy Bartholomew boar pig" (*2 Henry IV.* ii. 4. 250).

*September.*

14. *Holyrood Day or Holycross Day—*

"On Holyrood day, the gallant Hotspur there,  
Young Harry Percy, and brave Archibald,  
That ever-valiant and approved Scot,  
At Holmedon met."

*1 Henry IV.* i. 1. 52.



17. *St. Lambert*. "At Coventry upon St. Lambert's Day" (*Richard II.* i. i. 199).

29. *Michaelmas*. Simple mentions it, but blunders about the date. "Allhallowmas last, a fortnight afore Michaelmas" (*Merry Wives*, i. i. 212). Theobald thought this was a misprint, and therefore proposed the change of Michaelmas to Martlemass. Johnson approved of the suggestion, but on the whole thought Shakespeare intended the blunder.

*October.*

25. *St. Crispin and St. Crispian's Day*. Ever memorable in connection with Henry V. and the battle of Agincourt :

"He that shall live this day, and see old age,  
Will yearly on the vigil feast his neighbours,  
And say 'To morrow is Saint Crispian.'

This story shall the good man teach his son ;  
And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,  
From this day to the ending of the world,  
But we in it shall be remembered."

*Henry V.* iv. 3. 44.

*November.*

1. *Hallowmas, All Hallows and All Saints*. Richard II. says of his queen :

"She came adorned hither like sweet May,  
Sent back like Hallowmas or short'st of day."

v. i. 78.

Speed (*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, ii. i. 27) uses the simile "to speak like a beggar at Hallowmas," which refers to the practice of poor people begging from house to house on this and the following day for "soul-cakes."

Prince Henry likens Falstaff to the renewal of summer in late autumn, "Farewell, thou latter spring! farewell, All hallown summer!" (*Henry IV.* i. 2. 178).

2. *All Soul's Day*. Buckingham, when led to execution (*Richard III.* v. 1), asks the sheriff, "This is All Soul's day,



fellow, is it not?" When he is answered he says, "Why, then, All Soul's day is my body's doomsday."

*November 11. St. Martin's Day, Martinmas, Martlemas.* Joan of Arc says, "Expect Saint Martin's summer, halcyon days" (1 *Henry VI.* i. 2. 131).

Poins (2 *Henry IV.* ii. 2. 110) catches Prince Henry's idea respecting Falstaff referred to above, and slightly alters the form, "How doth the Martlemas, your master?"

*December.*

Rosalind says, "Men are April when they woo, December when they wed" (*As You Like It*, iv. 1. 147).

"He makes a July's day short as December."

*Winter's Tale*, i. 2. 169.

6. *St. Nicholas, the patron of boy scholars and also of parish clerks.* Launce affirms that Speed was illiterate and could not read, which charge he denies, and asks to be tried. Launce answers this: "There; and Saint Nicholas be thy speed!" (*Two Gentlemen*, iii. 1. 301).

Highwaymen, called St. Nicholas' clerks, are alluded to in 1 *Henry IV.* ii. 1. It is supposed that this name is taken from Old Nick, the name of Satan, rather than the Christian saint.

25. *Christmas Day.* There is little reference to the festival in Shakespeare, but wassail is mentioned in connection with Christmas customs. How beautiful, however, are the words of Marcellus (*Hamlet*, i. 2) respecting the freedom from evil spirits on Christmas night:

"Some say that ever 'gainst that season comes  
Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,  
This bird of dawning singeth all night long:  
And, then, they say no spirit dares stir abroad;  
The nights are wholesome; then no planets strike,  
No fairy takes, nor witch hath power to charm,  
So hallow'd and so gracious is the time."



*Moveable Feasts.*

Shrove Tuesday, Ash Wednesday, Lent, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day and Whitsuntide all find a place in Shakespeare's works.

The Clown in *All's Well* (ii. 2. 25) gives among his associated things "a pancake for Shrove Tuesday"; and Silence sings of "Merry Shrove-tide" (2 *Henry IV.* v. 3. 38).

Ash Wednesday is casually mentioned in the *Merchant of Venice* (ii. 5. 26). A "Lenten entertainment" is mentioned in *Hamlet* (ii. 2), and a Lenten pie in *Romeo and Juliet* (ii. 4). Jack-a-Lent was a stuffed puppet, and Mrs. Page addresses Robin, Falstaff's page, as "You little Jack-a-Lent" (*Merry Wives*, iii. 3. 27). Poins says to Falstaff, "Jack, how agrees the devil and thee about thy soul, that thou soldest him on Good Friday last for cup of Madeira and a cold capon's leg?" (1 *Henry IV.* i. 1. 128).

The wearing of new clothes on Easter Sunday, a custom not even now extinct, is alluded to in *Romeo and Juliet* (iii. 1. 30). Mercutio asks Benvolio if he fell out "with a tailor for wearing his new doublet before Easter."

Easter Monday was known as Black Monday in remembrance of the extreme cold on the 14th April, 1360, when large numbers of Edward III.'s army died before Paris owing to the severe frost, a month before the Peace of Bretigny. Launcelot says, "It was not for nothing that my nose fell a-bleeding on Black Monday last" (*Merchant of Venice*, ii. 5. 25). There was a superstitious belief that bleeding at the nose foreboded some accident or coming event.

Ascension Day (Holy Thursday), which falls forty days after Easter Sunday, was a day of fear for King John, who asks :

"Is this Ascension Day? Did not the prophet  
Say that before Ascension Day at noon  
My crown I would give off?"

v. 1. 25.



Whitsuntide. Mrs. Quickly alludes to Wednesday in Whitsun week when she tells Falstaff that "upon Wednesday in Wheeson week . . . thou didst swear to me then, as I was washing thy wound, to marry me and make me my lady, thy wife?" (1 *Henry IV.* ii. 1. 96).

The Dauphin (*Henry V.* ii. 4. 25) refers to "a Whitsun morris dance," and Perdita says :

"Methinks I play as I have seen them do  
In Whitsun pastorals." *Winter's Tale*, iv. 4. 134.

I cannot, after some search, find the date of St. Withold's Day, mentioned in Edgar's song :

"Saint Withold footed thrice the 'old [wold];  
He met the night mare and her nine-fold."  
*King Lear*, iii. 4. 125.

The name is also spelled Swithald and Swithold, and it has been suggested that it is latinised as Vitalis, but this does not help us, as there are several saints named Vitalis, and each of these has his own particular day appointed to his memory.

H. B. WHEATLEY.

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## COLLECTANEA.

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### BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF THE LATE SIR LAURENCE GOMME ON ANTHROPOLOGY AND FOLKLORE.

SIR LAURENCE GOMME was born in Stepney, December, 1853, and died at Long Crendon, Bucks, February, 1916. He was knighted in 1911.

He was for several years Statistical Officer to the London County Council, and in 1900 appointed Clerk. He was first President of the Municipal Officers Association.

He was, in conjunction with Mr. William J. Thoms, Mr. Edward Solly, Mr. W. R. S. Ralston, Mr. H. C. Coote, Mr. Henry Hill, and Mr. H. B. Wheatley, one of the Founders of the Folk-Lore Society, and was successively Honorary Secretary, Director, and President, and while holding these offices edited the publications of the Society. He contributed articles and three Presidential Addresses.

He was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries from 1879, and of the Royal Statistical Society; was a member of the Anthropological Institute, the Folk-Lore Society, hon. member of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, the London Topographical Society, the British Association, the London Society, and others. He was a Lecturer at the London School of Economics, a University Extension Lecturer, and a regular contributor to *Notes and Queries*.

In conjunction with Mr. H. B. Wheatley, F.S.A., he edited *The Antiquary* from 1881 (vol. iii.) to 1888 (vol. xvii.), and the Camden Library with Mr. T. F. Ordish, F.S.A. He edited the *Archaeological Review*, vols. i.-iv. 1888-1889.



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ALICE B. GOMME.

*For appreciative notices of Sir Laurence's work see Folk-Lore, March, 1916, and Man, June, 1916, and Dr. R. R. Marett's "Address to the Anthropological Section," British Association, 1916.*

## NOTES ON ENGLISH FOLKLORE.

### *Bedfordshire.*

#### 1. *Nursery Rhyme.*—

There was an old woman and she went one,  
She went nick-nock up against a gun.

*Refrain*—*Nick-nock, padlock, sing a little song,  
See the little ploughboys troddling along.*



2. There was an old woman and she went two,  
She went nick-nock up against a shoe.
3. There was an old woman and she went three,  
She went nick-nock up against a tree.
4. There was an old woman and she went four,  
She went nick-nock up against a door.
5. There was an old woman and she went five,  
She went nick-nock up against a hive.
6. There was an old woman and she went six,  
She went nick-nock up against some sticks.
7. There was an old woman and she went seven,  
She went nick-nock up against eleven.
8. There was an old woman and she went eight,  
She went nick-nock up against a gate.
9. There was an old woman and she went nine,  
She went nick-nock up against a line.
10. There was an old woman and she went ten,  
She went nick-nock up against a hen.

(Communicated by Miss Margaret Murray, who learnt it from an old servant, a native of Luton, who, as a child, had heard it sung by a very old woman there.)

#### *Gloucestershire.*

*The Devil's Churchyard.*—On Summershall Downs there is a deep entrenchment, where Danes and Saxons fought up to the fetlocks of their horses in blood. The place is called the Devil's Churchyard, because there is the ruin of a church, which was built all right till the walls were six feet high. After that it was pulled down each night, and at last the building was given up. There are the ruins to this day. (From an old Gloucestershire man in Leominster Workhouse, 1908.)

#### *Herefordshire.*

*Charms and Spells.*—Mr. C. G. Portman writes that he was cycling lately in the neighbourhood of Hay, on the Welsh border.



when he was stopped by some ladies in a motor car, which was standing by the roadside. They pointed out to him a spot on the road a little way back, where someone had been hedging, and two sticks crossed lay on the road. One of the ladies asked Mr. Portman to throw the sticks over the hedge, to "turn the bad luck." She had been afraid to proceed, for fear of some mishap, until this was done for her by some passer-by.

Mr. Portman also relates how when an old man at Crasswall died his executors were much surprised to find he had made a second will, leaving all his property to a friend for whom he had never expressed any special regard. The will was so unexpected that it was said and believed that the legatee had put a spell on the old gentleman by mixing powder from a "Devil's snuff-box" with his snuff. As long as this mixture was used the person who mixed it could control the will of the user. The story is vouched for by an old inhabitant of Crasswall; it was told to her by an aged great-uncle.

A woman living at Cusop left her cottage because a man was drowned in a brook near by. She was greatly upset, and preferred to return to a cottage she had occupied before the accident. Shortly afterwards a neighbour mentioned in conversation what a pity it was that her efforts to obtain a new-born baby to live in that house with Mrs. ——— after the drowning had failed. If only the baby had been there she need have had no fear that the spirit of the drowned man would come back. (Communicated by Mr. Portman.)

*Leechcraft King's Evil.*—A woman at Crasswall had a child suffering with king's evil. She was advised to take the child to Hereford to see the public hangman just after an execution, and pay him to pass the rope over the child's body and lash him with it. This was said to be a certain cure. (Communicated to Mr. Portman by a native of Crasswall.)

*Seed-Time Rhyme.*—

Plant your seeds four in a row :  
One for the dove, one for the crow,  
One to rot, and one to grow.

*Riddle.*—As I was going to Worcester, I met a man from Gloucester. I asked him where he was going, and he told me



to Worcester to buy something that had neither top nor bottom, but which could hold flesh, blood, and bones.—*A wedding ring.*

(From Mansell Jones, Wedbley, aged 81.)

*Monmouthshire.*

I am indebted to Mr. Iltyd Gardner, of Abergavenny, for the following notes :

*Underground Passages.*—Several places in Monmouthshire have the well-known legend of an underground passage leading generally to the church, and most of these supposed and non-existent passages have the equally universal and persistent story of a dog having been put in at one end and having come out days (or even weeks) later at the other terribly emaciated and with his skin nearly torn off. Fifty years ago this was alleged of Llanthony, where the passage went right under the mountain to Longtown, of Raglan Castle, and of Hostrey Court, near Usk ; and up to much more recent times of Abergavenny Castle. The latter had steps leading underground, and I knew a man who swore he had been down the passage “more than 100 yards.” Careful examination, in which I took part, about 1885, proved this to be a large wine cellar, with no passage except its entrances.

*Sites.*—*The Two Sisters Story* is often told in various forms about churches near together. It is connected with Llangwm Isha and Llangwm Usha, and about the two naves of Pakefield Church, in Suffolk. Various reasons are given for the rivalry between the sisters.

Llanfair Kilgeddin Church is in a most inconvenient position in a bend of the Usk, far from the inhabitants, and surrounded by water at every high flood. When my father, born in 1811, was a boy an old man told him that the church was to have been built on a much better and higher site, near the house now called St. Mary's. But all that was built in the day was knocked down by the Devil at night, until an angel directed that the building should be recommenced on the present site, and even *carried the stones there for the builders*. Possibly the present site, being surrounded by running water, prevented the Devil from having power there : it is an island at flood times now.



*Wells.*—Wells, good for sore eyes and also for sore legs, were common in Monmouthshire, and pins were thrown into them. There was one on the left side of the New Monmouth Road, where it leaves Abergavenny, close to the house now called Brookfield—formerly Pen-y-cansey.

*The Swastika as a Fire-Charms.*<sup>1</sup>—The idea that the crossed irons, usually of Swastika form, used on the outside of walls and screwed on to tie-beams to hold the house together were in that shape “to keep the lightning away” was given to me about 1859 by my father’s old servant, John William Phillips, a native of Abergavenny, and there known as “Jack the Witch,” his mother having been reputed a sorceress.

ELLA M. LEATHER.

*Somerset and Devon.*

*Binding the Faggot at Christmas.*—Thousands of farmers and farm labourers in Devonshire and Somerset will to-night observe the ancient custom of “binding the ashen faggot,” and from about nine o’clock until the early hours of Christmas morning farmhouses will be the homes of rollicking fun. Whatever else he may do, the farm labourer does not take his pleasures sadly, and no countryside festival is so popular as faggot-time.

The origin of the custom is obscure, but it is by many believed to be a survival of an old-time thanksgiving for a good harvest, for no matter what has happened between harvest time and Christmas Eve all who have helped in bringing in the crops are invited to the festivity. When the company is assembled great ash poles, bound tight with chains and otherwise prepared, are cast into the immense open hearths so characteristic of the old west-country homesteads.

In some farmhouses the faggots are cast on to an already lighted fire, but in many it is the custom for the employer to light a length of tow, proceed through lines of his servants, and set fire to the pile. As the flames rise bumper glasses are filled, and the toast

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Folklore of Herefordshire*.



of the harvest given. From then until the faggots are but embers the merriment continues. One of the most popular sports of the evening is reminiscent of All Hallows E'en. A revolving "spit" with a stick, to the ends of which are attached an apple and a lighted candle, is hung in the kitchen, and every man must "claim the apple." If he avoids burning his hair he is lucky, but the fun, if rough, is real.

The custom is not so widely observed as formerly, but it is still one of the chief agricultural festivals of the year. It is also observed in many public-houses. In these the faggots are bound with wood, and as the binding bursts in the flames all drinks are free.—*The Gloucestershire Echo*, 24th December, 1912.

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FOLKLORE FROM INDIA.

*A Female Mowgli found in India.*

A creature described as a female "monkey-child," and strongly recalling Kipling's *Jungle Book* story of Mowgli, the man-cub reared in the forest by a she-wolf, has been discovered in the jungles of Nainital. When brought in, the little creature, who appears to be about nine years old, was in a frightened condition, unable to eat anything except grass and chapatties. She had a tremendous mat of hair on her head and a thick growth of hair down each side of her face and down the spine, but her vaccination marks and the child's perfectly-upright carriage, despite the fact that she sits like a monkey and has many of the habits of the ape, prove beyond doubt that she is a little girl who years ago had been abandoned or had strayed into the forest.

The creature, who has thin and bony hands and nails of extreme length and thickness, has been tied up by the authorities to the pillar of a porch. Her capture is attributed to the fact that the girl was suffering from an ulcerated foot. She had also deep scars on her head and knees. The capture is much discussed here from many aspects, and it is hoped that the head and brain



measurements may yield results of value to the science of biology and to students of psychology. The only known historical parallels, apart from the fabulous Romulus, are the Wild Boy of Lithuania, and Peter, the Wild Boy of Hanover Forest, both of whom were discovered early in the eighteenth century. Peter, who was a hopeless imbecile, was taken to London in 1725, and lionised by society, whose behaviour in this respect provoked the satires of Swift and Defoe.—*The Morning Post*, 27th July, 1914.

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#### NOTES ON IRISH FOLKLORE.

##### *Insects.*

*The Dar-daol, Dara daol or Derga daol* (pron. "Darrig Deel" or "Darragh Deel").

Daol is the generic term for beetle in Irish. The well-known beetle *Ocypus olens*, called in England the Devil's Coach-horse, has earned for itself an evil reputation by its black and ugly appearance, and its attitude of defiance when met on open ground. It turns up its tail as if ready to sting, and lifts its head with open mandibles. The following extraordinary legend is told of it in the counties of Wicklow and Waterford and elsewhere, and the attitude is supposed to be that of asking pardon.

The day before Our Lord's betrayal He came to a field where the people were sowing corn. He blessed the work, and as a result the crop grew up miraculously, so that when the Jews searching for Our Lord next day came to the spot they found a field of wheat. They inquired if the Saviour had gone that way, and were told He had passed when the corn was being sowed. "That is too long ago," they said, and turned back. Then the Evil One, taking the form of a Darragh Daol, put up his head and said, "Yesterday, yesterday," and set His enemies on His track. Wherefore the Dar Daol should be killed whensoever met. But there is only one safe way of doing it, they say in Co. Wicklow, for if you kill it with your thumb, as is done in the south of Ireland, or crush it with your boot, a stone, or a stick, the slightest



blow from the thing used for its destruction occasions a mortal injury to either men or animals. Therefore the Dar daol should be lifted with a shovel and burnt in the fire, and no harm will result. It is a pity that an insect so beneficial to the farmer for its activity in killing wire-worms and other destructive insects should be so relentlessly persecuted.

#### *The Connach Worm.*

The late well-known Irish scholar, William Hennessy, of the Public Record Office, Dublin, a native of Kerry, told me that he had often heard in his youth that cattle were prone to a disorder called the "c'nough," and that it was believed to arise from their having swallowed a grub of some kind when grazing. I was enabled to identify the insect in question by noticing a clever pen-and-ink drawing on the margin of an ancient map of Connaught, preserved in the MS. room of the Library in Trinity College, Dublin, of about the date of 1600. It very faithfully portrayed the full-grown larva of *Chærocampa elpenor*, the large "Elephant Hawk" moth, and beneath it was written "Ye Connaught Worme." The colour of the ink indicated that it was no modern addition, and the drawing seems probably of about the same age as the map. The similarity of sound evidently led to a confusion of ideas, the Irish name "c'nough" having no reference to that of the province. The caterpillar in question is a remarkable one, having the habit, in common with other larvae of Sphinx moths, when disturbed, of retracting the head and anterior segments of the body, and raising this swollen portion above the level of the rest, adopting the attitude of the Sphinx, from which the English generic name is derived. The ocellated markings of these front segments then appear like two pair of prodigious eyes. On the last segment of the tail projects a fleshy spine, which suggests a stinging apparatus. A full description of the superstition and its cure may be found in one of the MSS. collected by "the learned and ingenious Dr. Thomas Molyneux, F.R.S.," some of which were printed in *The Natural History of Ireland*, by Boate and Molyneux, 1755. The paper in question was communicated to him by a friend in the country, who states that the "c'nough"



disease is engendered in cattle by a worm found on the herbage in dewy mornings, and can be cured in either of the two following ways—namely, by procuring a specimen of the insect and crushing it between the palms of your hands, and allowing the oily matter to dry on them. “Thereafter,” he continues, “the first water in which your hands are washed each morning acts as a specific for the complaint. Which same,” he adds, “I accordingly did, and was assured by many that came to me for the remedy that it proved efficacious.” The ailment referred to apparently is one which both cattle and pigs suffer from, and in veterinary practice goes under the name of “Blaines,” a disorder which, however, is rarely mortal. The other method is to bore a sufficiently large hole in the stem of a hawthorn tree, and put a conagh worm therein and plug it securely in. The leaves of that tree then become impregnated with virtue, and given to a sick beast will cure them. I may mention in connection with the subject that in the collection of antiquities of the Royal Irish Academy are two beautiful jewelled models of the larva in question, of the natural size, which seem to have been used as an amulet or charm.

*The Eft or Newt.*<sup>1</sup>

This harmless little amphibian goes by several names among the peasantry. The *airc* or *alp* (from *alpain* = I divine) *luachra* in Waterford, often pronounced and spelled *earc* or *al luachra* or *och luchera*, elsewhere derives this appellation from the genitive of *luachair*, rushes. In Kildare and in Wicklow it is called also *Delecha luachra* and “the dark looker,” which, I presume, is a corrupt derivative. Its reputed objectionable propensity to jump into the mouth of anyone either drinking of the water or sleeping open-mouthed beside a stream or pond frequented by these “Man-keepers” makes it an object of terror throughout the country districts of Ireland. In Waterford I was told by an intelligent man named Molony that a young woman, whose stomach was inhabited by an *alt-luachra*, suffered terribly when a

<sup>1</sup> For similar Gaelic stories, see *The Vision of MacConglinne*, K. Meyer (1892); Hyde, *Beside the Fire*, p. 47 (1890); Campbell of Islay, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, ii. p. 366.



smell of food was perceptible. But she got rid of her unwelcome guest by lying down with her mouth open over a dish of steaming meat till the animal came out "with all her family." In Leitrim I was told of a capital cure, namely, to fast twelve hours at least, and then eat some salt herrings without taking any liquid. Then lie down with the mouth open on the bank of a rippling stream, the murmur of whose waters will tempt the "man-keeper" forth to drink.

*Cure for a Burn.*

This remedy is one very difficult to procure. An alt luachra must be caught and held tightly to prevent its jumping into one's mouth. The operator must then lick its back with his tongue, which thenceforth becomes efficacious to cure burns (Waterford). In the south I find that a method often used to reduce the inflammation of a sore eye, or to remove a fly or other intrusive matter, is to get a person to lick it out, and some people are noted for their skill in this respect.

*Cure for Scrofula or "King's Evil."*

The seventh son of a seventh child is well known to be gifted with the power of touching for "the King's Evil." In Donegal, near Doe Castle, I remember that about fifty years ago a farmer's daughter was terribly afflicted with this disease, and I knew the family to send to a great distance for a man who was supposed to be endowed with this power. He, however, failed to do her any good, and she died shortly after I left. In Waterford I heard of a man named Brien who lived in Gléna Wathéra (Dog's Glen) who was said to have suffered from "the evil." A "doctor" was sent for who had the proper qualifications as to birth and descent, and the very first time he touched for the evil the boil became withered; and on the third occasion all the symptoms completely disappeared, and Brien has been a healthy man ever since. A child possessing this birth qualification can be tested at any time before he is christened by placing in the palm of his hand a small earthworm, which dies at once if the healing virtue is present.



*A Herbal Remedy.*

The following narrative was related to me in the Co. Waterford :—My father had a farm, and was not in the house when the following happened. It was not long after the death of their first child that my mother was “sitting her lone” in the house and grieving at the thought of her little boy’s death, when a travelling woman came in and rested a while by the fire. “Good woman,” said she, “I know you’re lonesome, and after burying your wee child. But you’ll shortly have another boy, and only I came this way you would have had to bury him too. Now do as I bid you, and don’t tell your husband, or all will be of no use. I’ll gather you certain herbs, and when the child is born boil some of them in milk and make him drink it. The remainder you may keep dry, but if any sickness takes the lad when he is growing up prepare some more, and it will cure him, and will last for twenty years at least.” And sure enough, said my narrator, it all came true, and whenever I was ill my mother fetched out the packet of herbs, and when put in the milk they became quite fresh-looking, and they near twenty years old ! and I was cured by their virtue.

*The Worm Knot*, “*snaidhm na péiste*” (pron. “snave na paystha”).

A herd employed at Cookesborough, near Killucan, Co. Westmeath, showed me a charm he used when cattle got “the founder.” He took a piece of string or light rope and tied a rather intricate knot, but did not pull it tight till he had passed it three times under the cow and over its back ; and then, if it had been properly made, by pulling the two ends the tangle was resolved, and the cord untwisted itself from the convolutions. It had also the virtue, I was told in the Co. Waterford, of curing an animal of any knot or contortion of the bowels, which is supposed to be the cause of gripes or colic.

*A Biblical Legend.*

At the interesting Cathedral of Lismore, Co. Waterford, an altar tomb called the Magrath tomb is preserved, and has been



often described. But I am not aware that the old legend which explains one of the sculptures on the covering slab has been published. At the right-hand corner at the foot of the slab a tripod cooking-pot is carved, and on its lid is a cock in the act of crowing.

The story which is given in explanation is that the Roman soldiers watching at Our Lord's sepulchre were scoffing at the possibility of His resurrection, and one of them said that it was just as possible that the fowl they were then cooking in the pot would return to life. As the word was said the lid was thrown off and the cock flew up alive and crew. (Told by the sexton of the Cathedral as an old belief.)

This is a common tradition. Dr. D. Hyde gives a poetical version of the story of the cock in his *Religious Songs of Connacht*, vol. ii. pp. 152-156, taken down from a peasant in Galway. A literal translation of the final verses runs as follows:

There was a flag in the doorway, and surely it was so firm | That a hundred men would not raise it without breaking it up | Until an angel came out of heaven, till he 'redded' the road | And till he lifted the flag out of their presence.

Mary Magdalene came hastily into it | That she might heal the wounds of Our Lord. | She searched the tomb all round about, hurriedly | And she did not get one sight of Jesus.

Until she saw the gravestones ready beside the wall | In the portion that the cover was off<sup>1</sup> (?) it was | She asked timidly, "Are you a man or a ghost (?) | Or where have ye made the room (?) of Our Lord?"

"I never left this place," said the guard who was watching Him, | "And I do not know who would go looking for Him | I have a small little bird of a cock boiling in this pot" | (And they making a mock of Our Lord).

"I have a small little bird of a cock boiling in the pot," | said he, mocking at Our Lord | "And until the cock rises up out of the pot | It is impossible to make a resurrection."

But up rose the cock out of the pot | He shook his two wings and put a crow out of him. | "My ochone," says the guard, and

<sup>1</sup> Owing to the bad articulation of the old man who repeated the poem some of the Irish words are uncertain.



surely not without cause, | “There is no use putting a stoppage on Jesus.”

*Trees.—The Elder.*

The elder or “bore” tree is believed to have been the tree from which Judas Iscariot hanged himself. The proof of which is the fact that its leaves have an “ugly smell,” and, moreover, that its fruit has since degenerated from its original size and excellent flavour, and become worthless both as to size and taste. (PETER FAUGHNAN, Mohill, Leitrim, and also in Waterford and the south.)

*A Miraculous Well in Co. Waterford.*

There is a holy well at Knockgarron which in old times was in a different place, about three-quarters of a mile from its present site. And this was how the change came about. It used to be so famous for curing eye diseases and ailments that people came from all parts to cure themselves. Now a squireen living near the place had a blind horse, and one day he ordered the horse-boy to lead it to the well and use the water. The lad refused, but the owner would insist on testing the effect of the water on the blind animal. Marvellous to relate, the horse at once recovered his sight, but next day the gentleman became stone blind. The well also sunk down into the ground and became dry, but later on it was discovered flowing forth where it is now to be found.

*Miraculous Cures at a Saint's Grave.*

At Ardmore, Co. Waterford, in the churchyard of the ancient and most interesting ruined abbey, they show a spot where it is said St. Declan, the founder, was buried. It is walled round, but inside the soil has been excavated to a considerable depth. The custodian of the place sold the earth for the cure of sick people.

At Dromahaire Abbey, in the Co. Sligo, many years ago, I watched a man saying his prayers in a portion of the sacred enclosure. When he rose from his knees he took an iron spoon that lay under a slab covering a grave, and put his arm into a hole up to the shoulder and drew up a spoonful of the clay. This he



wrapped up in paper, and told me it was for a sick person, who mixed it in water and drank it for a remedy. He said that this was Father Peter's grave, and that he had been a very holy man.

*(To be continued.)*

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FOLK TALES FROM THE TONGA ISLANDS.

*Muni of the Torn-Eye.*

There was once in Tongatabu a great chief, called Motuku Veevalu, who was king of Hihifo, whilst his rival, Bunga Lotohoa (or Lotolava), was king of Hahake. In course of time these two champions met in combat, with the result that Motuku was worsted, and fled and lived in concealment. His rival Bunga then reigned as sole king of Tongatabu. But one day the wife of the discomfited Motuku, smitten with the desire to travel and see distant lands, stowed herself on board a double canoe which was making ready to carry a boat-building party to some other island. All went well until they reached the reef in Haapai called the Fahas, but there the little party, delayed by bad weather, and unprepared to keep so long at sea, soon began to experience the pangs of hunger. Then, seeking a cause for their misfortunes, they discovered the hapless wife of Motuku in the leeward canoe. Dragging the woman out, they cut her open, and, finding her pregnant, flung the babe into the sea. The child thus rudely born drifted far, and was at last cast ashore, still living, at Lofanga, one of the Haapai islands. The luckless infant's woes were not yet over, for, lying there on the surface of a rock, he was assailed by a snipe, which picked out one of his eyes and sadly disfigured his visage. His cries, however, attracted to the spot a man and his wife who had gone down to the sea to fish. They took compassion on the little sea-waif, and determined to adopt him, for they were childless and had ever longed for a babe. So the child was nurtured by these foster-parents, who gave him the name of Muni. As the lad grew up he developed a most extraordinary strength, so that the people of Lofanga both envied and feared him, and at



last fell to devising plans to rid themselves of him. Accordingly, when in course of time orders were given for the people to build a boat house, the full half of the work was allotted to the foster-parents of Muni. Deep was their dismay at the magnitude of the task assigned them. They despaired of its accomplishment, and deemed their expulsion from the island inevitable. Muni meanwhile was sleeping—proneness to sleep was a fault of his—in entire oblivion of the tears and lamentations of his parents. But waking anon, and learning of their distress, he assured them, bidding them leave the labour to him. Accordingly, on the morrow he repaired to the bush, and tearing up a great cocoa-nut tree and other trees for the posts of the boat house, he bore all off to the site of the building, and, in the twinkling of an eye had completed the assigned half.

So far was this prodigy of strength and skill from securing immunity to Muni and his foster-parents that the anger and resentment of the people but blazed the fiercer, and at length so great was the couple's fear at this growing disfavour that they themselves determined to be rid of a charge so troublesome. In pursuance of a plan they had formed, they took Muni with them on a fishing expedition to the island of Meama. There, leaving Muni in charge of the boat, they went off, ostensibly to fish, but soon returning they found, as they fully expected, Muni fast asleep in the bottom of the boat. They quickly removed the steering-gear, bale, and all the outfit, set the boat adrift, and returned themselves to Lofanga. So Muni, still sleeping, was borne far out to sea, and would assuredly have perished had not a fragment of a bowl been left in the canoe. The boat was filling, but this fragment set afloat by the incoming water, and knocking against the side, awakened the sleeper, and discovered to him his peril. Luckily the high cone of Kao was not quite out of sight. With one mighty scoop Muni baled the water from the windward canoe. Then leaping to the leeward canoe he cleared it with the same speed. Wrenching a pole from the lashings between the two canoes, he set to work with this rude paddle to cover the long distance back to Lofanga. Night had fallen before the journey was accomplished. Going ashore he went home, but did not at once enter the house. As he stood outside leaning against a plantain tree, he overheard



his foster-parents conversing within the house, and presently gathered that they were congratulating themselves on being rid of him, for, as they said, they had been in danger of perishing for the sake of one of whose very parentage they were ignorant. Then, for the first time aware that these were not his parents, Muni made his way into the house, demanding that they tell him who is his father, that he may go and seek him. In reply he was told that his father lived in Tongatabu, whither he must go, landing at Telio in Hihifo. There a bird will meet him, and running before him lead the way to his father.

Muni at once set out, accompanied only by a Fijian attendant to whom he was greatly attached. Arrived at Telio he bade the Fijian jump ashore and fix the stake to which to fasten the boat. After many vain efforts (of which the mark remains to this day), the Fijian called out that he could not drive in the stake as he was on rock. Thereupon Muni jumped ashore, and with one great stroke of the stake drove it so deep that the hole has never been fathomed. Going up to the land he saw, as predicted, a bird, which, running before him, led at last to a bower formed of a creeping gourd plant. Putting aside the leaves, he found concealed within a man whose face was almost hidden by a huge beard. The bearded man was none other than Motuku, but naturally enough he did not at once recognise his son. Muni, however, claimed him as his parent, and on recalling the circumstances of his birth, Motuku was convinced of the reality of the relationship, and they spent some time in affectionate embraces and converse. At length Muni bade his father call together their friends and relatives, whilst he himself took a stroll. Motuku would have negatived these plans, telling Muni also that he must speak softly as he was in hiding from his ancient enemy, Bunga. But Muni cried aloud, "Arise and call our people together, whilst I go and seek a man to fight with." The man whom he sought was Bunga. Now Bunga lived at Boha, where he dwelt in a great enclosure with his wives. There was also a huge kava plant, and a place where the flying-foxes roosted, among them a white flying-fox, by means of which he was able to divine. When Muni arrived at Boha, Bunga was away at Halakalakala, fishing for atu. Muni knocked at the house door, and a



girl came to see who was there, supposing that perhaps her master had returned from his fishing. But on seeing a stranger with a disfigured face, she exclaimed, "Eh, Torn-eye, where do you come from?" But he only replied by bidding her open the door. "Get out of here as fast as you can, Torn-eye," responded the girl; "don't you know that this is Bunga's home?" "Yes," replied Muni, "I know that it is Bunga's home, but you open the door before I pull it down." Then the wives from within shouted abuse at him, bidding Torn-eye make off as fast as he could. Thereupon Muni, wrenching open the door, went in and humbled all the wives. Coming out again he plucked up the kava plant with one hand—the hole where it stood is still visible in Boha. Then, as he went off, he bade the women tell Bunga on his return to pursue him and avenge the insult in combat.

Now, when the kava plant was torn up, the flying-foxes set up a clamour which the distant Bunga noted as a warning that an intruder had entered his home, but seeing the white flying-fox coming to him he determined to put the matter to the test and know the certainty. Long bamboo rods are used in the atu fishing, and Bunga determined that according to the kind of rod on which the flying-fox alighted would he know whether things were well or ill at home. On came the flying-fox, alighting at once on a rod that, according to the predetermined sign, meant that intruders had broken in. The indignant Bunga lost no time, but ordered in the fishing tackle, and the rowers made their best speed to shore. There the angry chief soon learned from the weeping women that they had been insulted and the kava rooted up. Asking where the kava then was, he was told that it had been carried off, and he at once set out in pursuit. It happened that Bunga overtook Muni just as he had torn the huge plant in two and shaken the earth out from the roots, holding one half out on either side of him. The earth shaken out from these giant roots can be seen to-day, forming two little hills, one on either side of the road at Holonga. Before they closed, Bunga inquired how they should fight. "Oh, any way," carelessly replied Muni, "with arms, or boxing or wrestling." Then they wrestled. At the first onset Bunga threw Muni, but he was on his feet again in a twinkling, and seized Bunga in a terrible grasp, in which he was



helpless as a child. He lifted him, but before he could dash him down Bunga had yielded, and, suspended aloft, was imploring mercy. "You shall be king Muni, but I shall be merely Bunga." So he let him down without throwing him. Thus it is that the coral is soft, and the coral rat weak. (Bunga in Tongan means coral.)

So the years sped by, and Muni dwelt on in Tongatabu, till at last he determined to take his Fijian henchman to revisit his friends at Ono. At the time of their arrival at Ono the land was ravaged by a great dog. Muni proposed that the Fijian go and visit his friends, whilst he himself would lie in the boat and await his return. But scarcely had the unfortunate Fijian started in from the beach when the huge dog sprang out and slew him, bearing the body away to his lair, where he ate it. Muni, all unconscious of this tragedy, waited long in the boat, but at last, uneasy at the non-appearance of his old companion, he set out to seek him. Following the Fijian's footprints he was led to a spot stained with blood. Thence following the footprints of the beast, he came at last to its den. He stood, and called his old friend. No voice replied, instead the ravening monster bounding out leaped at him. Undaunted, Muni seized its jaws and rent them asunder. But in this hour of victory he knew the fate that had overtaken his faithful follower, and, his heart filled with a grief that could not be comforted, he turned back to the beach. There casting off the moorings of his boat, he lay down in the bottom, and so drifted out into the unknown.

### *Bajikole.*

Once there lived in Tongatabu a Samoan named Bajikole. Now Bajikole had beautiful yellow hair, and this had won for him the love of two female divinities, called Jiji and Fainga'a. But their affection went unrequited, for Bajikole was already wedded, and his heart clave to his wife. However, the advances of celestial suitors are not easily to be repulsed, and grievous were the trials of the faithful Bajikole at the hands of the divine seducers. Bootless were it for mortal to openly reject such lovers, and long and anxious were the musings of Bajikole as he



devised plans of escape. And not without success did he plot the discomfiture of Jiji and Fainga'a, for once, seeing them approach to take him off, he proposed that he carry them. The offer was accepted, and the two goddesses got each into a basket which Bajikole slung on a pole across his shoulders, with strict injunctions to his passengers on no account to look down, but to keep their gaze fixed steadily on the sky. So he bore them off, up the mountain Holohibebe, where he hung up pole, baskets, and goddesses upon a buko tree. Bajikole then stole quietly away, and Jiji and Fainga'a, gazing ever at the sky and seeing there the movement of the clouds, were unaware that they themselves were stationary.

And so they remained for two whole years, but at the end of that time the baskets rotted, and the goddesses fell. Now, it happened just at this time that Bajikole's curiosity was aroused to learn the end of this episode of divinities in baskets. After admonitions from his wife to walk warily in his dealings with visitants from the other world, he set out for the mountain, and as he reached it met his contemned admirers coming down the slope. Unabashed, he expressed regret that for so long he had neglected his obligations to them, and, further, invited them to accompany him on a fishing expedition and see his prowess as an angler. But the crafty mortal had already devised another plot against his heavenly lovers. When the time came round for the fishing trip, he took with him a large basket made of cocoa-nut roots, wherein he had placed sweet-smelling wreaths and chaplets, such as the natives love to adorn themselves with. Thus prepared, he set out with the love-lorn maids. Bajikole sat in the stern to manage the boat, but Jiji and Fainga'a he placed in the bow, bidding them keep their eyes forward, and on no consideration to look round until he called them. When they had got well out to sea he dived over the stern, and, keeping up a great splashing the while, he invested himself with the ornaments and wreaths with which he had come prepared. Clambering back on board, he called his fair passengers to look round. Great was their astonishment at the transformation. To their inquiries Bajikole replied that festival was being held at the bottom of the sea, with all the customary sports and wealth of flowers, and that if Jiji and Fainga'a desired



to go, all they had to do was to get into the big cocoa-nut root basket. Trustfully the maids of heaven crept into this aquatic carriage, which the provident Bajikole carefully weighted with stones. Then, with a heave and a splash, away they sailed to the bottom of the sea, whilst Bajikole returned to land. And at the bottom of the sea they would have remained had not the great god Tangaloa at length interposed on their behalf.

It is said that this irreverent conduct of Bajikole was responsible for both Niua and Samoa being long held in disfavour by the whole Polynesian pantheon.

REV. G. BROWN, D.D.

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#### THE BUR OR BOROUGH MAN.

(See Vol. xix. p. 379; and xx. 89, 227.)

The following letter from Professor F. W. Tilden of the University, Indiana, has been kindly sent by Sir James Frazer:

"On August 10th, 1911, I drove out from Edinburgh to the small town at the end of the Firth of Forth Bridge, and there saw a boy dressed entirely in a suit of burs, being led about by other youths, collecting pennies. I was told by a bystander that the custom had been observed there for four hundred years, and that originally the person was called the Borough Man, and later the Bur Man."

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#### BETROTHAL CUSTOM IN NORTH WALES.

A correspondent of *Country Life* of 25th November, 1916, describes the door of a farm-house cupboard marked with the shape of a heart. At the base of the heart was a diamond-shaped figure. He was informed that recently at a betrothal party each guest was asked to bore a hole in the cupboard door, the number of holes representing the number of guests. The diamond-shaped figure represented hearts' blood, and it was made some time afterwards to show that one of the betrothed pair died before marriage. Further accounts of similar betrothal customs would be interesting.

W. CROOKE.



## MARRIAGE CUSTOMS IN CROMARTY.

All friends of the bride give her presents of bedclothes, it being an honour or mark of superiority to have many pairs of blankets. All those bidden to the "Bedding," as it is called, have to heap their gifts on the bed, and in the end there is quite an erection. Most of it however is removed the night of the wedding.

The bridegroom has to supply the bride's boots and shoes for her trousseau, and all clothes, save underwear.

The bride has to have her feet washed the day before, money put in the water in which this is done, and when the bride sits with her feet in the basin or tub, her girl friends scramble for the coin, with which they buy sweets.

The top portion of the wedding cake is kept for the christening of the first-born child.

Collected neighbourhood of Cromarty, N.B., 1914.

L. E. ASHTON-RIGBY.

THE WORSHIP OF THE GOD OBALUFON: CURSING TO  
OBTAIN A BLESSING.

The eve of the annual celebration of Obalufon (deity) known as Gbolodo came off on the night of Saturday, the 16th instant. Great importance is attached to the worship of this deity, being the only Orisa in Egbaland, upon whose altar human life was formerly sacrificed annually. Its worship is confined to the township of Ikereku, and is regarded by them as of national importance. Thanks to the influence of the British Government, the barbarous custom of offering human life has long since become a thing of the past. The most curious part of the ceremonies is, that before this Orisa, every worshipper must curse instead of blessing himself; for it is their belief that it gives the opposite of what a man asks. Thus a man who wants wealth will ask for poverty, etc., etc.—*Nigeria Pioneer*, 22nd September 1916.

The above extract has been kindly forwarded by Sir James Frazer, who remarks: "The custom of cursing as a mode of securing a blessing is so comparatively rare that this instance from West Africa deserves a record in *Folk-Lore*."



## OBITUARY.

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MARIAN EMILY ROALFE COX.

1860-1916.

MARIAN ROALFE COX was a Londoner by birth and descent. Born in Mount Street, 30th August, 1860, her childhood and early life were passed in the old house which had been the home of her family for three generations in the once-pretty suburban village of Streatham. Then came ten years spent in Kensington, and, after the successive deaths of both parents, some years of a spinster's solitary flat in Westminster. An uneventful life, but rich in interests—musical, literary, and scientific.

Those whose memories of the Folk-Lore Society go back to the last decades of the nineteenth century will vividly remember the pale, fragile-looking girl who, closely chaperoned by her dignified Early Victorian mother, was a regular attendant at its meetings. It was in 1888 that Miss Cox joined the Society, and she at once expressed a wish to undertake definite work on its behalf. Folk-tales were then among the leading preoccupations of students. The question of independent origin *versus* transmission was eagerly debated, and it was supposed that analysis and comparison might disclose the birthplace and habitat of each story. People were busily making abstracts of the various published collections to this end. Miss Cox took part in the work, and presently—at the suggestion, we believe, of Sir Laurence (then Mr.) Gomme—undertook the task of collecting and classifying all attainable variants of *Cinderella*.

It was a work for which she was well fitted. She was an excellent linguist; she read the classics in the originals, spoke modern Greek fluently, and was acquainted with the principal European languages and their literature. Oriental and Continental scholars, as well as the leading English folklorists, readily lent their aid to



her researches. The result was a handsome volume of 535 pages, containing 345 brief abstracts of variants of the story. They are gathered from over eighty different countries, ranging from Finland to Zululand and from Japan to Brazil and Chili, and are carefully arranged in three main groups: viz. the type of *Cinderella* proper, the *Catskin* type, and the *Cap o' Rushes* type, with the "indeterminate" variants appended separately.

It would be difficult to overpraise the care and nicety of the classification, the pertinent and business-like character of the notes, and withal, the modest self-effacement shown by the editor; while the short time—under four years—occupied by the compilation speaks volumes for her industry, handicapped as she always was by more or less delicate health. But the hope that the work would reveal the original habitat of the story was not realized. All that could be safely predicated of *Cinderella*, said Mr. Lang, who contributed an Introduction to the volume, was that it could not have arisen among a naked and shoeless people! But it is impossible to think that so much good work can have been thrown away. The question of spontaneous upgrowth *versus* concrete transmission has lately been revived in a wider field, and one may safely predict that when it comes to be settled the evidence to be gleaned from *Cinderella* will be found neither valueless nor unimportant.<sup>1</sup>

Miss Cox was for some time a member of the Folk-Lore Council, and was elected an Honorary Member of the Society in 1904. In 1895 she published (through Mr. Nutt) a study of the principle of Animism, under the title of *An Introduction to Folk-Lore*. It was luminously written, and attained to a second edition, but *Cinderella* remained and remains her *magnum opus*.

Her health and the care of her parents—to whom in their old age she was a devoted nurse, notwithstanding her own delicacy—caused her to be seldom seen among us of late years, but whenever she appeared she was greeted with a special air of respectful welcome, as one whom the Society delighted to honour.

CHARLOTTE S. BURNE.

<sup>1</sup> Abstracts of a few variants obtained after the volume was published will be found in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xviii. pp. 191-208 (1907).



## REVIEWS.

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MODERN GREEK IN ASIA MINOR : A STUDY OF THE DIALECTS OF SÍLLI, CAPPADOCIA AND PHÁRASA, WITH GRAMMAR, TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS AND GLOSSARY. By R. M. DAWKINS, M.A., with a Chapter on the Subject-Matter of the Folk-Tales by W. R. HALLIDAY, B.A., B.Litt. Cambridge : University Press. 1916.

A STUDY of a language to be complete must be accompanied by texts which illustrate the formation of sentences and give some partial insight into the mentality of the people speaking it. Among an illiterate people traditional texts are the only ones possible to obtain. Mr. Dawkins has produced an elaborate work on the modern Greek dialects of certain districts of Asia Minor, and has appended to his grammar, analysis and study of their relations to one another, and to the Turkish dialects which threaten to overwhelm them, no fewer than ninety-five folk-tales dictated or written by inhabitants of the villages where his researches were made. This in itself would render students of folklore greatly indebted to him. But he has added to this debt by inducing Prof. Halliday to write a valuable chapter on the subject-matter of the tales, embodying explanatory notes upon them and lists of variants (in many cases discussing their provenience), and winding up with a convenient bibliography especially useful for the Greek stories and those from the Nearer East, including under that head Slavonic, Bulgarian and Magyar tales.

In studying folk-tales the attention may be concentrated primarily upon the plot. The object then is to trace the origin and wanderings of the tale, considered as a work of art. Its bearing on the general problem of the transmission of culture



need not be pointed out. Some tales lend themselves better than others to this purpose. They are simple; the plot possesses a unity and an inevitableness, and appears to bear the stamp of having been conceived and constructed once for all—an artistic whole. This is the side of the study to which the late Prof. Joseph Jacobs was devoted. At the time of his too early death he was engaged in attempting to reconstruct the primitive form of some of the common stock of European tales. This too is the side of the study that mainly interests Prof. Halliday; and it has resulted in many an interesting page in his chapter of the present work.

In the mouths of the Greek peasants of the districts represented here the stories are not at their best. "Broken down" is Prof. Halliday's description of some of them. They are perhaps hardly less important on that account to the student. Folklore in its decay often has as many lessons to teach as in its maturity. It is instructive, for instance, to see what episodes of a tale have a relatively enduring life in the memories of a community that is beginning to forget it, and how the form of an incident changes with the changes of culture.

The citations here from various Greek collections will be much appreciated by students. The Italian collections might have been consulted with advantage. Indeed, the great Sicilian collection by Dr. Pitrè was probably made from a people whose condition and environment in many respects nearly resembled those of Greek story-tellers. Most of his stories are well told. *Prima facie* it would seem that the Sicilians had kept the art of story-telling which the Greeks of Asia Minor, as represented in the volume before us, had lost. This conclusion to the disadvantage of the Greeks, though perhaps true, is not necessary. Pitrè, being a fellow-countryman with an extensive medical practice, whom everyone trusted and loved, had facilities for becoming acquainted with the best story-tellers, and a greater choice of them, probably denied to Mr. Dawkins. His stories, therefore, are not only of value to students, as are Mr. Dawkins', but they make his book most entertaining to read. Comparison of these, as of other Italian stories, with the Greek stories, however, does impress the student with the truth of Prof. Halliday's remark that "in spite of



the wide distribution of incidents and tales, it is possible in many cases to trace a narrower nationality in the tone and content of a body of allied folk-stories." In this volume the Greek tales are imbued with oriental and particularly Turkish culture, thus supporting his contention that "the oriental and particularly Turkish character of Greek stories has never been sufficiently recognized." The ogres (*devs*, *dhraki*, *ežderhas*) are not the Sicilian ogres, the social arrangements are different, the moral emphasis is not quite the same, and so on. Greek peasant culture is, in fact, a half-way house between oriental and western peasant culture. And its study as exhibited in these and other tales should lead to useful conclusions.

But the study of folk-tales is not exhausted by a consideration of the plots, and of the "atmosphere." Equally important is that of the incidents. Most folk-tales are a compound of incidents more or less loosely strung together, and appearing in variants sometimes in one position, sometimes in another, often dropped altogether and replaced by others which are foreign to the general framework. The relation of incident to plot is a very nice problem. In many cases, no doubt, it depends on the memory and abilities of the traditional reciter. In other cases it is due to the difference of culture and social organization; and still other causes may easily be conjectured. In any event, the bulk of the incidents are the product of ideas that go very deep down into savagery. They are found in closely related, often identical, forms almost all over the world. Their meaning and distribution are questions the answers to which may throw light on many of the riddles of anthropology. An incident which often opens a tale of the type known as *The Teacher and his Scholar*, or as *The Magician's Apprentice*, may illustrate this. It appears in this volume in a tale from *Ulaghátsh*. As the father is taking his son to find a master he drinks at a spring, and having drunk he cries "Of!" apparently a mere grunt of satisfaction. Immediately a person appears and says "Why did you call me? My own name is Of." This person, of course, is a supernatural being; and his appearance leads to the adventures which form the story. Prof. Halliday cites a number of variants. M. Cosquin, to whom he refers, cites a great many more in his important study of the



part often claimed for the Mongols in the transmission of Indian tales to the West. But neither of them alludes to what is to many students the most interesting aspect of the incident. They are rather concerned with tracing the transmission of the incident than with its meaning. It is clear, however, that it is founded on the value attached in the lower culture to a name as part of the personality of its owner, and the consequent prohibition (on which the Third Commandment is founded) of heedlessly pronouncing the name of a supernatural being, or of the dead. To do so is to summon the owner, for the knowledge of his true name gives power over him. This belief is perhaps most familiar to us in the Bantu practice of *Hlonipa*. A student who recognizes the foundation of the incident will discount to some extent the evidence of transmission. For it is clear that where the exigencies of a story demand the summoning of a supernatural being, to pronounce a word which by accident, so to speak, sounds like his name is an easy way of doing so; and it is apt to become a commonplace of the story-teller. It is difficult, therefore, to assign the birthplace of such an incident to any one people. It might spring up anywhere, for it arises from a superstition held by all.

A similar observation applies to other incidents founded on beliefs or customs widely known or practised. This, of course, does not apply to every incident in a folk-tale; but it should be allowed its weight in considering the question of transmission. Professor Halliday is not insensible to the importance of the matter, pointing out, for instance, the special significance of the purchase by the hero of animals which are going to be put to death "in Moslem countries, where such an act is regarded as of high religious value and as conferring great merit," and the identity of the king's command in some of the stories that if the booty found be of value it shall belong to his followers, if it be a human being it shall be his, with the actual arrangement between a Kurdish chieftain and his followers in war.

Whatever view they may take on these questions, all who are interested in the problems of folk tales will be grateful to Mr. Dawkins and Prof. Halliday for a substantial contribution to our knowledge of the folk-tales of the Nearer East.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.



ELEMENTS OF FOLK PSYCHOLOGY. By W. WUNDT. Translated by E. L. SCHAUB. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 1916. 15s. net.

PROFESSOR WUNDT is an eminent psychologist, and is therefore entitled to all respect when he seeks to elucidate the origins of human culture from a psychological point of view. He is ready to admit that ethnology, in the sense of the study of the movements of peoples involving culture-contact and the consequent origination of new forms of institution and belief, must pave the way for his own type of research, which tries to explain the general process towards the highest civilization in terms of the laws of the evolution of the human mind. But he maintains that the problems of the two disciplines are, if complementary, distinct; and herein I would venture to agree with him. His method as a method seems to me to be legitimate, even though the results of its application remain open to criticism.

A word may here be interpolated as to the use of the German expression *Voelkerpsychologie*, which Dr. Schaub renders by the new and not altogether happy phrase "Folk Psychology." *Voelkerpsychologie*, we are told by Professor Wundt, dates back as a word scarcely further than the middle of the nineteenth century, and may mean either of two very different things—the characterization of particular peoples (as when Mr. Fielding Hall entitles his book about the Burmese *The Soul of a People*), or the study of those mental products which are created by a community of human life (as we should commonly call it, "Social psychology"). Professor Wundt, of course, employs the term in this latter sense. I cannot but regret that Dr. Schaub should have seen fit to assign such a meaning to his neologism, "Folk Psychology." In English, surely, we shall do well to use "folk" in such a context with a definite reference to "the folk," namely, the relatively uncultured portion of an advanced society; or at most to extend its connotation so as to include those backward peoples whose mental outlook affords a key to so much of the "Lore" which the uncultivated portion of civilized society still continues to cherish. Indeed, in German *Volkskunde* (as distinguished from *Voelkerkunde*) serves very well to express our



"folklore." But to treat "folk" as equivalent to "society" or "community" seems an outrage on the English language, for which it is no sufficient excuse to plead that it imperfectly echoes a German phrase of ambiguous import.

To examine Professor Wundt's results in detail would be a task demanding far more space than is at my disposal. It matters the less because the special treatises of the future will doubtless occupy themselves with the particular theories of one who expresses a view, and, for the most part, a novel view on almost all classical questions of origins—the origin of exogamy, the origin of the bow-and-arrow, the origin of clothes, the origin of language, and so forth and so on. I would here simply call attention to his main scheme of topics, according to which human history is divided into four "ages," styled respectively the pretotemic or (relatively) primitive age, the totemic age, the age of gods and heroes, and the age of advance "towards" humanity. Anthropologists have of late looked somewhat askance on "unilinear" arrangements of this kind as tending unduly to simplify the actual course of organic evolution with its endless ramifications and recrossings. Professor Wundt's answer would appear to be that he leaves the tracing of the complex genealogical process to the ethnologist, reserving for himself, as a psychologist, the right to discover beneath the superficial play of eddies and cross-currents the movement of a "stream of tendency" that, in accordance with the general laws of psychogenesis, makes on the whole in a certain direction. His claim to such a right I would gladly support, and may go so far as to say that some such series of "ages"—I would prefer to say "stages"—as he postulates appear to me to accord with the relevant facts.

I am most dubious about his first or pretotemic stage. He seems to me to pick and choose somewhat arbitrarily among the peoples who appear to be without totemism or its survivals. Thus the Eskimo, Chukchees and Koryaks are usually held to be such peoples. Yet they have no type-value for him, presumably because their culture is otherwise not so primitive as it ought, on his theory, to be. Moreover, while it may be legitimate to make mental characteristics depend on a certain condition of society, it is surely rather hazardous to go on to connect therewith definite



achievements in the way of technological invention, the mother of which is either genius or luck. For instance, I can see no psychological reason why the bow-and-arrow should be among the most primitive of weapons. But if Professor Wundt, deserting his methodological principle, is relying on the purely ethnological ground that the Pygmies have it, then, at least the matter should have been thrashed out as a strictly chronological question; and in that case the prehistoric evidence as to the relative antiquity of the bow (but Professor Wundt seems to be quite out of touch with prehistorics) ought to have been carefully considered. For the rest, I shall not attempt to follow Professor Wundt through his manifold speculations concerning the beginnings of totemism. British anthropologists meeting him on this their chosen ground may be trusted to deal with him faithfully. I would only say that they may learn from him that there is a certain advantage in dispensing with the old view of Australian culture as the *terminus a quo* of social evolution—even if the representation of a still earlier condition be mostly a feat of pure imagination. And here must perforce close this rapid survey of a book which, even when it is least convincing, is always instinct with the suggestiveness of a powerful mind.

R. R. MARETT.

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THE CODE OF HANDSOME LAKE, THE SENECA PROPHET, edited by A. C. Parker: *Bulletin*, New York State Museum, No. 330, 1st November, 1912.

THIS prophet of the Seneca tribe was born in 1735 and died in 1815. His teaching is the basis of the "New Religion" of the Six Nations, and is preached or recited at all the annual mid-winter festivals on the various Iroquois reservations in New York and Ontario, where adherents of the faith are to be found. The pamphlet contains much information on tribal rites and beliefs, and a considerable amount of folklore.

*Charms.*—"Should a person die holding a secret, one may discover it by sleeping on the ground with a handful of the grave dirt beneath his head. Then, if all conditions are perfect, the dead



person will appear in three successive visions and reveal its mystery.

"A young man, wishing to become a swift runner, may add to his powers by concealing in his belt a bone from the grave of some celebrated runner of the past.

"A warrior who wishes to guard against sudden attack from behind may make an unfailing charm by cutting three slits in the back of his neck and rubbing into the wounds the oil extracted from the scalps of enemies. A peculiar soft white flesh will fill up the cuts, and when completely healed will protrude. Should an enemy then approach, these protruding scars will quiver and warn the warrior of danger" (p. 30 note).

*Invoking the Corn Spirit.*—"The ceremony of invoking the Creator over the hills of corn was an old one, and like many old customs was endorsed by the Prophet. This custom is still continued among some of the Iroquois. When the leaf of the dogwood is the size of a squirrel's ear, the planting season has come. Before the dawn of the first day of planting a virgin girl is sent to the fields, where she scatters a few grains of corn to the earth as she invokes the assistance of the spirit of the corn for the harvest" (p. 54 note).

*The Ceremony of Gathering Herbs.*—"When a Seneca wishes to gather medicinal herbs, he goes into the woods where they grow and builds a small fire. When there is a quantity of glowing embers he stands before it and as he speaks at intervals casts a pinch of tobacco on the coals. He speaks to the spirits of the medicines telling them that he desires their healing virtues to cure his people of their afflictions. 'You have said that you are ready to heal the earth,' chants the gatherer of herbs, 'so now I claim you for my medicine. Give me of your healing virtues to purge and cleanse and cure. I will not destroy you but plant your seed so that you may come again and yield fourfold more. Spirits of the herbs, I do not take your lives without purpose, but to make you the agent of healing, for we are very sick. You have said that all the world might come to you, so I have come. I give you thanks for your benefits and thank the Creator for your gift.' When the last puff of tobacco smoke has arisen, the gatherer of herbs begins his work. He digs the plant from the roots, and,



breaking off the seed stalks, drops the pods into the hole and gently covers them over with fertile leaf mould" (p. 56 note).

*The Sky Road: the Milky Way: the Stars.*—"The great sky road is the Milky Way. The souls of the dead are supposed to journey over the broad band and divide at the forks. The multitude of stars are thought to be the footprints of the dead" (p. 62 note).

W. CROOKE.

OHABOLANA, OR MALAGASY PROVERBS, illustrating the Wit and Wisdom of the Hova of Madagascar. Collected, translated and arranged by the Rev. J. A. HOULDER, with translations into French by M. HENRI NOYER. Edited by the Rev. JAMES SIBREE, D.D., F.R.G.S. Part I., including 1236 Proverbs. Antananarivo: Press of Friends' Foreign Missionary Association. 1915.

It gives very great pleasure to welcome a book on the title-page of which the name of our old friend and fellow-member of the Folk-Lore Society, Dr. Sibree, appears. It is nine-and-twenty years since he ceased to be a member of the Society; and after his excellent book on Madagascar and his contributions to the pages of the *Folk-Lore Journal*, his loss to the science of folklore was the subject of many regrets. May we venture to hope that the part he has taken in the production of Mr. Houlder's collection of Hova proverbs will result in further contributions to our knowledge of Malagasy folklore, in which he is so profoundly versed? The *Antananarivo Annual*, to which he from time to time contributed, has been extinct since 1900. It is in this country very rare. Consequently, its inaccessibility to folklore students is as great as its value. There seems little hope of its republication, though there was a second edition some years ago of some of the issues. Some French research has been carried on since the French occupation of the island, but the works which have been produced are, with the exception of Prof. van Gennep's *Tabou et Totémisme*, little known to English readers. An authoritative collection and exposition, especially relating to some of the older tribes, are sadly needed. For this reason the work before us, a



copy of which Dr. Sibree has kindly presented to the library of the Society, may, we hope, be only a forerunner of a series devoted to the traditions and customs of the Malagasy.

It is the first instalment of a collection of proverbs current among the Hova, the dominant people of the island. Naturally, it deals chiefly with their moral ideals, on which it throws much light. But great as its interest may be, in order to obtain something like a correct view of their morality it should be correlated with an account of their customs and institutions. Incidentally, of course, we get allusions to these, and valuable such allusions are. Proverbs alone, however, do not go far enough to afford us a picture of the actual daily life of a people and the religious beliefs and more secular motives that really inspire them. For this we must have resort to narrative and description.

As illustrations of the allusions we may take those relating to death-rites, such as Nos. 234, 978, 1027, etc.; the swearing of oaths on various occasions (506-509), taboo-signs (818), the orientation of the dwelling-house (125). In reference to the last be it noted that "the old native houses always face west." Seeing that the Hova came undoubtedly from the East, the practice goes counter to the theory that the dwelling is orientated towards the country of traditional origin. But the collection is so rich that it is difficult to make a selection among the various subjects of interest. It would have enhanced its value if the explanations had been in some cases a little more detailed. Things that are quite clear to those who are on the spot may need elucidating to others. The French version with its comments often explains the English version.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

REST-DAYS: A STUDY IN EARLY LAW AND MORALITY. By HUTTON WEBSTER. Macmillan & Co., 1916. Price 12s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR HUTTON WEBSTER, well-known for his valuable work on *Primitive Secret Societies*, discusses in this interesting book the



question of the Sabbath and other Rest-Days by his comparative method. Much has been written on the institution of the Jewish Sabbath, but the question is here for the first time discussed on evidence collected outside the Semitic area. Primitive man had various motives for setting apart certain days of rest. First, a tabu was imposed as a propitiation of his gods, who, it was believed, would be offended if on days set apart for thank-offerings or for intercession, any secular work was carried out. Such days were regarded as evil or unlucky, because work done on them would necessarily be fruitless. Secondly, there was the need for periodical inter-tribal fair days, when ordinary labour was interrupted in order to allow the tribesmen to convey their goods to a common market-place on the frontier. Such tabus can best be studied in the Pacific area, and it is probable that the earliest periodic rest-days were those of market-days, the intervals between which would naturally constitute the week. Hence came the Roman *nundinium*, an eight-day week, peasants assembling on the market-day, which was marked as a holiday in the schools, and was spent in banqueting. Again, the phases of the moon naturally regulated such periodical rest-days. We read in Homer that the Noumenia was being celebrated at Ithaca on the day of the test of the vow of Odysseus. The simplest way would be to divide the lunar month into two fortnights, as was the case with the Egyptians and Peruvians. This leads to the origin of our week, which is recorded in the cuneiform Babylonian calendar found by George Smith in 1869. The word "Sabbath" probably means "a day of atonement." It is still uncertain whether the Jews borrowed their week bodily from the Babylonians. We hear of Saul holding a new moon festival, when the nobles "sat at meat with the king," and there is good reason to believe that in the days of the Prophets the new moon and the Sabbath were identical. The seven days week, originally a pagan institution, seems to have reached Rome after Pompey's conquests. On all those questions Dr. Hutton Webster has collected a mass of well-arranged information, and the book is now of special value, as the question how far the efficiency of labour depends on periodical rest-days is claiming special attention.

W. CROOKE.



## ANTHROPOLOGY AND FOLK-LORE IN WEST AFRICA.

SPECIMENS OF LANGUAGE FROM SIERRA LEONE. By N. W. THOMAS, M.A. London: Harrison & Sons. 1916.

LAW AND CUSTOM OF THE TIMRIC AND OTHER TRIBES. Same Author and Publishers. 1916.

TIMRIC GRAMMAR AND STORIES. Same Author and Publishers. 1916.

TIMRIC-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. Same Author and Publishers. 1916.

MR. NORTHCOTE THOMAS has collected in these works a large amount of information on the linguistics, customs and folk-lore of West Africa. The stories comprise "The Sleepy Men," "The Man who is left alone on account of his Amorousness," "The Marriage of Pa Spider," "Sheep and the Cat," "The Heat Walker," "The Old Woman and the Old Woman," "Why the Chimpanzees do not Brush (Farm)," "Konisava, the Most Sensible Man beyond the Wise Kings," "The Woman and her Female Child," "Why Persons must not find wives and love one and hate one." These tales are recorded in the original language, with an interlinear translation, and deserve attentive study.

JOURNAL OF THE FOLK-SONG SOCIETY, No. 20, November, 1916.  
Published by the Society, 19 Berners Street, London, W.

THE Folk-Song Society is carrying out an admirable work in the collection of folk-songs and ballads in Great Britain and Ireland. The last issue of the *Journal* is of exceptional interest to all students of folk-lore. One of its prominent features is the investigation of the folk ideas and customs on which many of the songs and ballads are based. The most important contribution is that of Miss Lucy E. Broadwood, in which she supplies a full version of the Padstow May Songs, and discusses their significance. The legend of St. Ursula and her magic ship is traced back to early pagan rites, and she is recognised as a Christianised form of



the great Earth-Mother. The chief ceremonies at the Padstow May rites are analysed into: the hobby-horse procession; the part taken by St. George, the Christian substitute for an ancient Sun-God; the curious appearance of "Aunt Ursula Birdhood," of which an explanation is suggested. The number is of exceptional interest to all students of folk-song and primitive custom.

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JATAKA TALES. Selected and Edited with Introduction and Notes by H. T. FRANCIS and E. J. THOMAS. Cambridge: The University Press, 1916. Price 7s. 6d. net.

THE complete English translation from the Pali of the Buddhist Jataka, the work of a group of Cambridge scholars, has been reviewed in these pages as the successive volumes appeared. While this work, as a storehouse of Indian folklore, will continue to be indispensable to the student, like most oriental books, it contains a considerable amount of matter, particularly in the form of verses, which is of little interest. The present selection, containing the most important tales, will be a useful substitute for the ordinary reader of the complete edition.

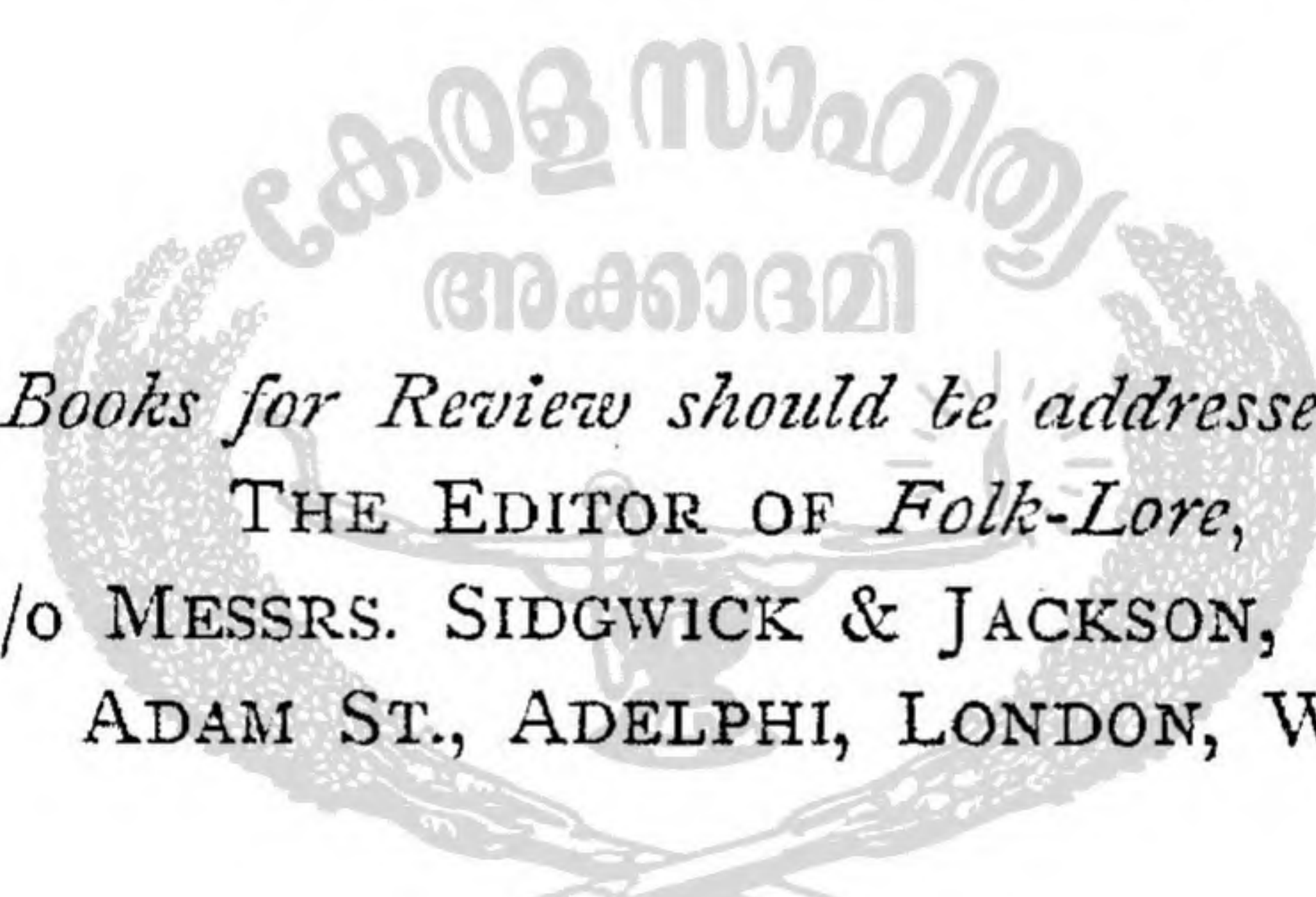
To show the interest of the volume, we note that in "The Hero's Tale" we have a version of the Jason Saga; "The King and the Stick-gatherer" contains, like the drama of Sakuntala, the incident of identification of the heir by a ring; "The Monkey and the Ogre" may be compared with: *Quia me vestigia terrent, Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum*, of Horace; in "The Peacock's Wooing" the bird dances in defiance of all decency, like Hippoclides in Herodotus; "The Robber and the Treasure" is perhaps the origin of Chaucer's "Pardoner's Tale"; in "The Value of a Brother" the woman selects, like the wife of Intaphernes, her brother in preference to her husband and son: "If I live, I can get another husband and another son; but, as my parents are dead, I can never have another brother"; in "The Great Dreams" we have a version of the tale in Pausanias, where Oknos or Indolence plaits a rope, which an ass furtively eats as he plaits it; "The Grateful Elephant" is our old friend



"Androcles and the Lion"; "The Wishing-Cup" resembles Uhland's ballad of "The Luck of Edenhall"; "The Wicked Stepmother" is the theme of Phaedra and Hippolytus.

A commendable feature of the work is the new series of photographs of incidents in the Jataka in the carvings of the Stupa of Bharhut. The notes, so far as they go, are valuable, and contain many parallels from Indian and Western folklore. It is to be regretted, however, that little use has been made of the modern collections of Indian tales, which would have supplied numerous parallels.

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- 1885. Basset, Mons. René, Villa Louise, Rue Deufert Rochereau, Algiers.
- 1913. Bayly, Miss May F.
- 1913. Beazley, John D., Esq., Christ Church, Oxford.
- 1892. Billson, C. J., Esq., M.A., The Priory, Martyr Worthy, Winchester.
- 1912. Blackburne, Miss G. Ireland, S.Th., 14 Motcomb St., Belgrave Square, S.W.
- 1913. Blackman, Miss, Elmdene, 348 Banbury Rd., Oxford.
- 1890. Bolitho, T. R., Esq., per W. Cooper, Esq., Estate Office, Trengwainton, Hea Moor R.S.O., Cornwall.
- 1888. Bonaparte, Prince Roland, by C. Belhatte, 10 Avenue d'Iéna, Paris.
- 1880. Brabrook, Sir E. W., C.B., V.P.S.A., Langham House, Wallington, Surrey (*Vice-President and Trustee*).
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- 1892. Broadwood, Miss Lucy E., 84 Carlisle Mansions, S.W.
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- 1889. Browne, John, Esq., Birchwood, 36 Park Hill Rd., Croydon.
- 1893. Burgess, Mrs. L. J., 1201 Blue Avenue, Zanesville, Ohio, U.S.A.
- 1883. Burne, Miss C. S., 5 Iverna Gardens, Kensington, W. (*Vice-President*).



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 1916. Clarke, Capt. R. Jenner, 30 The Pryors, East Heath Rd., Hampstead, N.W., and London Hospital, E.  
 1878. Clodd, Edward, Esq., Strafford House, Aldeburgh (*Vice-President and Trustee*).  
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 1911. Crooke, Roland H., Esq., Langton House, Charlton Kings, Cheltenham.  
 1881. Crooke, W., Esq., B.A., Langton House, Charlton Kings, Cheltenham (*Vice-President*).  
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 1908. Davies, Prof. T. Witton, B.A., Ph.D., Bryn Haul, Victoria Drive, Bangor, N. Wales.  
 1895. Debenham, Miss Mary H., Cheshunt Park, Herts.  
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 1911. de Gruchy, G. F. B., Esq., Manvir de Normont, St. Aubin, Jersey.



1894. Dennett, R. E., Esq., Benin City, Forcados, S. Nigeria, per H. S. King & Co., 9 Pall Mall, S.W.
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1895. Evans, Sir Arthur J., M.A., F.S.A., Ashmolean Library, Oxford.
1899. Evans, Sir E. Vincent, 64 Chancery Lane, W.C.
1912. Evans, The Rev. H. R., The Hermitage, Llangollen.
1895. Eyre, Miss, The Hudnalls, St. Briavel's, Coleford, Gloucestershire.
- c. 1889. Fahie, J. J., Esq., Green Croft, Chesham Bois Common, Bucks.
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 1890. Green, Frank G., Esq., West Lodge, Carshalton.  
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- c. 1910. O'May, J., Esq., Kuala Kangsar, *via* Taiping, Perak, F.M.S.
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1911. Partridge, Miss J. B., Wellfield, Minchinhampton, Glos.
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1907. Singh, H. H. The Raja Sir Bhuri, Chamba, viâ Dalhousie, Punjab, per King, King & Co., Bombay.
1913. Smith, Prof. John A., Magdalen College, Oxford.
1893. Spoer, Mrs. H. Hamish, F.R.S.G.S., Box 104 Austrian P.O., Jerusalem.



- 1899. Starr, Professor Frederick, University of Chicago, Chicago, U.S.A.  
(*Hon. Member*).
- 1909. Steinitzer, H., Esq., 8/1 Wilhelm Strasse, Munich, Germany.
- 1909. Stephenson, R. H., Esq., St. Saviour's Road East, Leicester.
- 1916. Stevenson, Mrs. Sinclair, M.A., D.Sc., Mission House, Ahmedabad,  
India.
- 1897. Stow, Mrs., c/o Bakewell, Stow & Piper, Cowra Chambers, Grenfell  
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- 1909. Sullivan, W. G., Esq., B.A., 1545 N. Meridian Street, Indianapolis,  
Ind., U.S.A.
- 1889. Tabor, C. J., Esq., The White House, Knotts Green, Leyton, Essex  
(*Hon. Auditor*).
- 1885. Temple, Lieut.-Col. Sir R. C., Bart., C.I.E., F.R.G.S., The Nash,  
Worcester.
- c. 1896. Thomas, N. W., Esq., M.A., Engoba, Manorgate Road, Norbiton.
- 1907. Thomas, P. G., Esq., Bedford College, Baker Street, W. [28 Den-  
nington Park Road, West Hampstead, N.W.].
- 1912. Thompson, T. W., Esq., M.A., F.C.S., Kenilworth, Scatcherd Lane,  
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- 1911. Thompson, W. B., Esq., United University Club, Pall Mall East, S.W.
- 1913. Thorpe, Miss Maude V. A., Sand Drift, South Promenade, St.  
Anne's-on-Sea.
- 1910. Thurnwald, Dr. R., Friedrich-Wilhelmshafen, German New Guinea.
- 1913. Thurstan, Edgar, Esq., C.I.E., Cumberland Lodge, Kew, Surrey.
- 1910. Torday, E., Esq., 40 Lansdowne Crescent, W.
- 1911. Torr, Miss Doma, Carlett Park, Eastham, Cheshire.
- 1897. Townshend, Mrs. R. B., 117 Banbury Road, Oxford.
- 1887. Travancore, H.H. The Maharajah of, Huzur, Cutcherry, Trivan-  
drum, India.
- 1888. Turnbull, A. H., Esq., Elibank, Wellington, New Zealand, per  
A. L. Elder & Co., 7 St. Helen's Place, E.C.
- 1878. Tylor, Professor Sir E. B., LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., Linden, Welling-  
ton, Somerset (*Vice-President*).
- 1878. Udal, His Honour J. S., F.S.A., 2 Marlboro' Hill, N.W.
- 1913. Urquhart, F. F., Esq., Balliol College, Oxford.
- 1912. Vansittart, Miss E. C., 36 Via Palestro, Rome, Italy.
- 1915. Vines, T. H., Esq., M.A., Sind Madrasah, Karrachi, India, per  
Cox & Co., Charing Cross, S.W.
- 1916. Vowles, Miss A. C., Old Lawn Cottage, Suffley, Gloucester.
- 1879. Walker, Dr. Robert, 7 East Terrace, Budleigh-Salterton, Devon.
- 1910. Webster, Prof. Hutton, University of Nebraska, Station A, Lincoln,  
Nebraska, U.S.A.



1910. Weeks, The Rev. J. H., 61 Lucien Rd., Tooting Common, S.W.  
 1915. Weinberg, H. J., Esq., The Park, North Rd., Nottingham.  
 1915. Weinberg, Mrs. M., Hardwick Ho., The Park, Nottingham.  
 1906. Westermarck, Prof. E., Ph.D., 8 Rockley Road, West Kensington Park, W.  
 1897. Weston, Miss J. L., Lyceum Club, Piccadilly, W.; 24 Rue de la Ville, l'Eveque, Paris, VIII<sup>e</sup>.  
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 1883. Wheatley, Henry B., Esq., F.S.A., D.C.L., 96 King Henry's Road, South Hampstead, N.W.  
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 1916. Willis, Miss Nina de L., 6 Curzon St., Mayfair, W.  
 1893. Windle, Prof. Sir B. C. A., M.D., F.R.S., President's House, Queen's College, Cork.  
 1911. Wingate, Mrs. J. S., Talas, Cesarea, Turkey-in-Asia.  
 c. 1893. Wissendorff, H., Esq., 19 Nadeschkinskara, St. Petersburg, Russia.  
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 1916. American Academy in Rome, Porta San Pancrazie, Rome, Italy, per A. W. Van Burren, Esq.  
 1891. Amsterdam, The University Library of, per Kirberger & Kesper, Booksellers, Amsterdam.  
 1879. Antiquaries, The Society of, Burlington House, W.  
 1905. Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1 Park Street, Calcutta, per B. Quaritch, 11 Grafton, Street, W.  
 1914. Baillie's Institution, 153 West Regent St., Glasgow, per J. B. Douglas, Esq., 203 West George St., Glasgow.  
 1881. Berlin Royal Library, per Asher & Co., 14 Bedford St., Covent Garden, W.C.  
 1880. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, per Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 31 and 32 Paternoster Row, E.C.  
 1884. Birmingham Free Library, Ratcliffe Place, Birmingham, per W. Powell, Esq.  
 1882. Birmingham Library, c/o The Treasurer, Margaret St., Birmingham.



1908. Bishopsgate Institute, Bishopsgate St. Without, E.C., per C. W. F. Goss, Esq., Librarian.
1899. Bordeaux University Library, per Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 4 Stationers' Hall Court, E.C.
1878. Boston Athenæum, Boston, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 14 Grape St., W.C.
1881. Boston Public Library, Mass., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1902. Bradford Free Public Library, Darley St., Bradford, per Butler Wood, Esq.
1894. Brighton Free Library, per H. D. Roberts, Esq., Chief Librarian, Brighton.
1906. Bristol Central Library, per E. R. Norris Mathews, Esq., F.R. Hist. Soc.
1909. Brooklyn Public Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1905. California State Library, Sacramento, California, per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1908. California, University of, Berkeley, Cal., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1898. Cardiff Free Libraries, per J. Ballinger, Esq.
1915. Carnegie Free Library for Allegheny, Pittsburgh, Pa., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
- (2)1904. Carnegie Library, Pittsburg, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1898. Chelsea Public Library, Manresa Road, S.W., per J. H. Quinn, Esq.
1890. Chicago Public Library, Illinois, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1898. Chicago University Library, Illinois, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1890. Cincinnati Public Library, per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1914. Cochin State Museum, Trichur, S. India, per The Curator, L. K. A. Krishna Iyer, Esq.
1894. Columbia College, New York, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1879. Congress, The Library of, Washington, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1890. Cornell University Library, per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1890. Detroit Public Library, Michigan, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1906. Dundee Free Library, per A. H. Millar, Esq., LL.D., Albert Institute, Dundee.



1894. Edinburgh Public Library, per Hew Morrison, Esq., City Chambers, Edinburgh.
1890. Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore City, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1893. Erlangen University Library, per W. Dawson & Sons, St. Dunstan's House, Fetter Lane, E.C.
1911. Fulham Public Library, Fulham Rd., S.W., per W. S. Rae, Esq., Librarian.
1901. Giessen University Library, per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., W.C.
1883. Glasgow University Library, per J. MacLehose & Sons, 61 St. Vincent St., Glasgow.
1902. Gloucester Public Library, Gloucester, per Roland Austin, Esq.
1878. Göttingen University Library, per Asher & Co., 14 Bedford St., Covent Garden, W.C.
1905. Grand Rapids Public Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1892. Guildhall Library, E.C., per Bernard Kettle, Esq., Librarian.
1878. Harvard College Library, per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., W.C.
1904. Helsingfors University Library.
1904. Hiersemann, K., 3 Königstrasse, Leipzig.
1896. Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans, U.S.A., per W. Beer, Esq.
1902. Hull Public Libraries, per W. F. Lawton, Esq.
1911. Illinois University Library, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1892. Imperial University Library, St. Petersburg, per G. Routledge & Sons, Broadway Ho., Carter Lane, E.C.
1895. India Office Library, Whitehall, S.W., per F. W. Thomas, Esq.
1901. Institut de France, per Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 31 and 32 Paternoster Row, E.C.
1899. Iowa State Library, Des Moines, Iowa, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1904. Jersey City Free Public Library, New Jersey, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1907. Johannesburg Public Library, per J. F. Cadenhead, Esq., Johannesburg, S. Africa.
1895. John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester, per The Librarian.
1879. Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore, per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1911. Kansas Public Library, Kansas City, Mo., U.S.A., per Mr. Purd. B. Wright, Librarian.



1905. Kensington Public Libraries, per H. Jones, Esq., Central Library, Kensington, W.
1892. Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society, per J. A. Hopps, Esq., 25 Friar Lane, Leicester.
1903. Leland Stanford Junior University Library, Stanford University, Cal., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1885. Library of the Supreme Council of the 33°, etc., 10 Duke Street, St. James', S.W., per J. C. F. Tower, Esq., Secretary.
1899. Liverpool Free Public Library, per Peter Cowell, Esq., Chief Librarian, William Brown St., Liverpool.
1879. London Library, St. James's Square, S.W.
1904. Los Angeles Public Library, California, U.S.A., per E. Steiger & Co., New York.
1910. Lund University Library, per Karl af Petersens, Librarian.
1913. Malvern Public Library, per The Librarian, Graham Road, Malvern.
1878. Manchester Free Library, King St., Manchester.
1897. Max, J., & Co., 21 Schweidnitzerstrasse, Breslau.
1902. Meadville Theological School Library, Meadville, Pa., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1908. Mercantile Library of Philadelphia, U.S.A., 10th St. Above Chestnut St., Philadelphia, U.S.A., per T. Wilson Hedley, Esq.
1904. Mercantile Library of St. Louis, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1893. Meyrick Library, Jesus College, Oxford, per E. E. Genner, Esq., Librarian.
1902. Michigan State Library, Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1907. Michigan University Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.
1881. Middlesborough Free Library, per Baker Hudson, Esq.
1905. Minneapolis Athenæum Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1894. Minnesota, University of, Minneapolis, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1878. Mitchell Library, North St., Glasgow, c/o F. T. Barrett, Esq., Librarian (per J. D. Borthwick, Esq., City Chamberlain).
1880. Munich Royal Library, per Asher & Co., 14 Bedford St., W.C.
1909. Museo di Etnographia Italiana, Pallazo Delle Scuola, Piazzzi D'Armi, Rome, Italy, per Dr. Giovanni Ferri, 54 Via Crescenzo, Rome.
1904. Nancy, Université de, Nancy, France, per M. Paul Perdrizet.
1894. National Library of Ireland, per Hodges, Figgis & Co., 104 Grafton St., Dublin.



1908. Nebraska University Library, Lincoln, Nebraska, U.S.A., per H. S. Grevel & Co., 33 King St., W.C.
1898. Newark Free Public Library, New Jersey, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1888. Newberry Library, Chicago, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1879. Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, Newcastle-on-Tyne, per H. Richardson, Esq.
1898. New Jersey, The College of, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A., per H. A. Duffield, Esq., Treasurer.
1894. New York, College of the City of, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1898. New York Public Library (Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundation), per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1894. New York State Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1913. Nordiska, Museet, Stockholm, 14, Sweden, per Visen-Lewin, Esq.
1911. North Staffordshire Field Club, per J. R. Masefield, Esq., Roxhill, Cheadle, Staffs.
1908. North Western University Library, Evanston, Ill., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1883. Nottingham Free Public Library, per J. E. Bryan, Esq., St. Peter's Churchside, Nottingham.
1911. Oriental Institute, Vladivostock, per Luzac & Co., 46 Gt. Russell St., W.C.
1894. Oxford and Cambridge Club, per Harrison & Sons, 45 Pall Mall, S.W.
1881. Peabody Institute, Baltimore, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1909. Pennsylvania University Museum, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1894. Peorio, Public Library of.
1899. Philadelphia, Free Library of, per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.
1881. Philadelphia, The Library Company of, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
1879. Plymouth Institution and Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society, per G. Hawken, Esq., 5 Wingfield Villas, Thorn Park, Plymouth.
1903. Portsmouth Public Library, per A. E. Bone, Esq., Borough Treasurer.
1894. Providence Public Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
1900. Reading Free Public Library, per W. H. Greenhough, Esq.



- 1894. Röhrscheid, L., Buchhandlung, Am Hof, 28, Bonn, Germany.
- 1908. Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay, per Kegan Paul & Co., Broadway House, Carter Lane, E.C.
- 1894. Royal Irish Academy, per Hodges, Figgis & Co., 104 Grafton St., Dublin.
  
- 1898. Salford Public Library, Manchester.
- 1908. San Francisco (Hayes and Franklin States) Public Library, per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
- 1916. Schweiz-Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, per Dr. E. Hoffmann Krayer 44 Hirzbodenweg, Basel, Switzerland.
- 1907. Seattle Public Library, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A., per B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, S.W.
- 1899. Sheffield Free Public Library, Surrey Street, Sheffield, per S. Smith, Esq.
- 1898. Signet Library, Edinburgh, per John Minto, Esq., Librarian.
- 1905. Sion College Library, Victoria Embankment, E.C., per C. H. Limbrick, Esq., Sub-Librarian.
- 1913. Société Jersiaise, per F. J. Bois, Esq., 9 Pier Rd., St. Heliers, Jersey.
- 1879. Stockholm, Royal Library of, per W. H. Dawson & Sons, St. Dunstan's House, Fetter Lane, E.C.
- 1916. Stretford Urban District Council Library, Old Trafford, Manchester, per G. H. Abrahams, Esq.
- 1903. Sunderland Public Library, Borough Road, Sunderland, per B. R. Hill, Esq.
- 1894. Surgeon General Office Library, Washington, D.C., U.S.A., per Kegan Paul & Co., Broadway House, Carter Lane, E.C.
- 1908. Swarthmore College Library, per E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.
- 1881. Sydney Free Public Library, per Truslove & Hanson, 153 Oxford St., W.
  
- 1895. Tate Library, University College, Liverpool, care of J. Sampson, Esq.
- 1883. Taylor Institution, Oxford, per Parker & Co., Broad Street, Oxford.
- 1906. Texas, University of, Austin, Texas, U.S.A., per G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.
- 1898. Toronto Public Library, per C. D. Cazenove & Son, 26 Henrietta St., Covent Garden, W.C.
- 1899. Toronto University Library, per C. D. Cazenove & Son, 26 Henrietta St., Covent Garden, W.C.
- 1879. Torquay Natural History Society, per Geo. Lee, Esq., Curator, The Museum, Torquay.
  
- 1899. Upsala University Library, per C. J. Lundström, Upsala, Sweden.



1896. Van Stockum, W. P., & Son, 36 Buitenhof, The Hague, Holland.  
1899. Vassar College Library, Poughkeepsie, New York, U.S.A., per  
H. Sotheran & Co., 140 Strand, W.C.  
1907. Victoria Public Library, Melbourne, per Agent-General for Victoria  
Melbourne Place, Strand, W.C.  
1909. Vienna Imperial Court Library, per Asher & Co., 14 Bedford St.,  
W.C.  
1901. Vienna Imperial University Library, per Asher & Co., 14 Bedford  
St., W.C.  
  
1910. Washington Public Library, D.C., Washington, U.S.A., per G. F.  
Bowerman, Esq., Secretary.  
1910. Washington University Library, St. Louis, per G. E. Stechert & Co.,  
2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.  
1890. Watkinson Library, Hartford, Connecticut, U.S.A., per E. G. Allen  
& Son, 14 Grape St., Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.  
1898. Weimar Grand Ducal Library, per Dr. P. von Bojanowsky.  
1916. Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, 54A Wigmore St., W.  
1916. Wellesley College Library, Wellesley, Mass., U.S.A.  
1907. Wesleyan University, Library of, Middletown, Connecticut, U.S.A.,  
per W. J. James, Esq., Librarian.  
1898. Wisconsin State Historical Society, per H. Sotheran & Co., 140  
Strand, W.C.  
1908. Woolwich Free Library, William St., Woolwich, per E. B. Baker,  
Esq., Librarian,  
  
1905. Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A., per  
G. E. Stechert & Co., 2 Star Yard, Carey St., W.C.







